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**The Educational Work of the Two
Montreal Mechanics' Institutes**

Harry Kuntz

*A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Educational Studies*

**Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of *Master of Arts* at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada**

January 1993

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ABSTRACT

**The Educational Work of the Two Montreal
Mechanics' Institutes**

Harry Kuntz

This thesis attempts to evaluate the educational work of the two Mechanics' Institutes in Montreal from the founding of the first institute in November 1828 until the class work of the second institute was assumed by the School of Arts and Design in 1870. After a review of the mechanics' institute movement in Britain and the various ways of interpreting the movement, it is suggested that an educational context be used for the discussion of the mechanics institutes. Accordingly, the Montreal Mechanics' Institute (1828-1835) is placed in its educational context. Other similar institutions and schools in Montreal are mentioned in an effort to set forth the institute's educational aim and to establish the range of other educational provision available. The activities, membership and history of the institute are examined and summarized. The history of the first institute, which was largely the work of master craftsmen, tradesmen and small merchants, is replete with conflict. Its history and membership shows how difficult it is to apply a theory of social control and illustrates the divisiveness of religion and politics to such an institute. The Mechanics' Institute of Montreal (1840-1870...), begun in 1840 by adherents of the British party, underwent a crisis in its early history, but maintained an almost continuous series of classes. Moreover, it lobbied strongly for government grants for education of apprentices. This may have played a part in the establishment in 1857 of the Board of Arts and Manufactures which took over the lectures and eventually the classes of the institute. Its history, activities and membership are also examined. A final chapter attempts to compare the work of the two institutes to the educational endeavor of the British institutes.

Acknowledgements

I must acknowledge the kindness of the librarians of the Atwater Library of Montreal, first Miss Heather Halliday and latterly Miss Janet Ilavsky, for permitting me to have access to the Archives of the Mechanics' Institutes and facilitating my research.

I also pay tribute to the patience, concern and support of my wife, Joanne, who has watched the long and slow process of gestation involved in amassing the materials and wrestling with their interpretation.

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Chapter One: Introduction

The aim of this thesis is to evaluate the educational work of the two Montreal Mechanics' institutes during the period from the founding of the first institute in November 1828 until the class work of the second institute was assumed by the School of Arts and Design in 1870.

The Montreal Mechanics' Institute, founded in 1828, was the first Mechanics' institute established in British North America. In subsequent years hundreds of institutes were founded elsewhere in Quebec, Ontario, the Maritimes and British Columbia. The original Montreal institute held its last recorded meeting on April 7, 1835. Re-established in 1840 as the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal, it is today the sole surviving member in Canada of a vanished and all but extinct species. Even here, because the word "mechanic" is no longer understood in its original sense, the institute has changed its name and is now known as the Atwater Library of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal, or more simply as the Atwater Library.

Previous studies of the Montreal Mechanics' institutes range from very summary notices in works on Montreal, and the institutional accounts written by its own librarians in 1921, 1940 and 1972, to two recent journal articles.

The earliest notice is found in Newton Bosworth's Hochelaga Depicta of 1839. He avers that the Montreal institute "was founded after the model of those at home," that is, those in Britain. Its membership had

been mostly "artisans, by whom its affairs were chiefly conducted." As for activities, "in addition to the ordinary exercises allotted to the hours of meeting, lectures on the principles of Mechanics, and Natural Philosophy, were occasionally delivered by Mr. Skakel." He looks forward to the resumption of the operations of "this useful Society which can be made conducive to the improvement of a valuable class of our citizens in habits and intelligences. Its apparatus and books are under the care of its officers." ¹

Later summary notices of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal usually contain an estimate of the institute's aims and activities, as well as the principal dates in the institution's history: its founding November 28, 1828; the lapse of meetings after March 24, 1835 (sic); its reorganization February 7, 1840; the beginning of a series of festivals February 16, 1843; its incorporation in 1845; the opening of its own premises May 21, 1855; their enlargement to include an 800 seat auditorium in 1862, etc.

W.H. Atherton, for example, included a notice of the institute under the heading "Literary and Learned Societies" in a chapter devoted to "General Culture". He sees the Mechanics' institute as an institution for the working man "founded in November 1828, by a body of earnest men, who felt that the worker should have a chance to educate himself not only in science, but in art and literature."² It is interesting to note that he treated the Mercantile Library Association, which had many of the same features, i.e., library, reading room, classes, public lecture

series, etc., under the heading "The Library Movement" in the same chapter.³ Perhaps this had to do with its ultimate fate, absorption by the Fraser Institute, whereas the Mechanics' institute maintained its independence. The Board of Arts and Manufactures central school, on the other hand, was treated along with the Commercial and Technical High School and the Montreal Technical School in a note devoted to technical, commercial and vocational education.⁴ He included his own estimate of the institute's contemporary activities in 1914, saying, "For twenty-five years the institute was the principal hall for meetings until the city spread more north, when it was divided into offices. Today its reading room and library are but very little used in comparison with the past."⁵

V. Morin, in a series of summary articles on "Clubs et sociétés notoires d'autrefois" sees the institute as a place where the average person, the artisan or the industrial worker, could develop the knowledge gained in elementary schooling. Founded by a group of enlightened and prudent citizens recruited from the various industrial, commercial and professional classes, it was an educational society for the arts and sciences which would fill the void caused by the absence of libraries and other cultural, literary, artistic or scientific institutions. He emphasizes that its educational purpose was reaffirmed when the members of the second institute rejected Vattemare's proposal for an all-embracing cultural center November 17, 1840, because it might undermine "the practical training of workmen and apprentices."⁶ The institute had as its primary aim:

*de former des ouvriers compétents et non de se borner à leur offrir les distractions d'une bibliothèque.*⁷

E.C. Moodey, in his history of the Fraser-Hickson Library, also sees the institute's purpose as the provision of technical education for artisans and apprentices, although this was due more to the "desirability of greater education for the working class" than the need for skilled workers.⁸ He contends that "the instructional part of its work remained important but by 1870 the institute was noted chiefly for its library."⁹

The institutional history of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal was written by the librarian, William Hamilton, for the opening of the new building on Atwater Avenue in 1920. That booklet was rewritten by T.M. Gordon for the one hundredth anniversary of the second institute in 1940. The latter was reissued in 1972 with a section to update the history from 1940 to 1970. This is a laudatory sketch of the institute's history which boasts of its "uninterrupted service in the cause of education" and emphasizes its pioneering role in the provision of technical and scientific education.

The institutional history contains a very sketchy account of the first institute, 1828-1835, because "the records of those early years are vague."¹⁰ Surprisingly, there is not mention of its relationship to the Natural History Society of Montreal, nor is there any mention of internal or external conflict affecting its history. The Montreal Mechanics' Institute was founded by "a number of thoughtful citizens,

representative of the industrial, commercial and professional classes" and "from the beginning it had the active support of many of Montreal's foremost citizens."¹¹ Taking its inspiration from similar institutes formed in Great Britain, it was "an institution devoted to instruction in the higher arts and sciences."¹² The institute had to suspend its activities when ordinary life in Montreal was disrupted by the political troubles of 1835-1840.¹³ It had, however, performed "a valuable service in imparting useful knowledge to its members" and so was reorganized when the times returned to normal.¹⁴

The second institute, the Mechanic's Institute of Montreal, was organized because of "the need for adequate training in the practical sciences, such as the old institute had provided."¹⁵ Details are sketchy, but the history mentions that for several years there were day classes for sons of members. In addition,

*night classes were established for those who were unable to attend during the day. In these classes the original subjects taught were: reading, writing, arithmetic and French; and architectural, mechanical and ornamental drawing. Thus, the workman was able to obtain an elementary education, and at the same time complement the practical experiences of his daily work with the theoretical knowledge so necessary to him if he were to advance in his career and play a worthwhile part in the industrial development of his community ... The pioneering work of the Institute at that time thus became a vital factor in promoting the progress and prosperity of Montreal.*¹⁶

The connection between technical education and industrial development is underlined in this account.

More recently, an article by Nora Robins, based on a research paper for her master's degree, appeared in the Canadian Library Journal.¹⁷ The first institute was founded by "influential citizens" and the importance attached to it may be seen by the quality of the persons elected to its executive. "The founders and directors were clearly affluent business and professional men."¹⁸ She indicates that "something was happening that was severely limiting the effectiveness of the institution" by 1832. However, because of disease and political difficulties, "it is not unreasonable to assume that members were too ill, too busy or too fearful to attend meetings, lectures or classes."¹⁹

Robins appears to underestimate the number of French-speaking members and to have a problem defining mechanics and artisans. In one telling passage she wrote:

*The degree to which the institution attracted mechanics and artisans is unclear ... It did, however, attract the small businessman, the clerk and the skilled worker.*²⁰

She finds it "difficult to form a clear picture of the members" because early records are incomplete.²¹ A lecture program, weekly information sessions, and the library and reading room were the institute's main features. Evening classes didn't begin until December 1833 and only ran until April 1834 when lack of students and inadequate accommodations brought an end to them.

The second institute, the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal, was formed in February 1840 and speedily arranged an amalgamation with the former institute. The constitution and by-laws were essentially those

of the earlier body. Membership rose quickly. In 1843, however, the constitution was amended to permit lady members as a response to a drop in membership.²² The free public lecture program was seen as the best stimulus to motivate learning. Speakers held forth on diverse topics from 1840 until the institute relinquished its lectures to the Board of Arts and Manufactures in 1857. Attendance was mainly middle class and by 1851 lack of suitable speakers had greatly diminished the number of lectures per season. Evening classes were not very successful because employers did not grant their apprentices time off. They "limped along until 1870 when they were taken over by the School of Arts and Design."²³ By the mid 1850s the library was the most popular feature of the institute and library expansion after periods of membership decline always revived the institute's fortunes.²⁴ After 1870 "it was the institute's library ... which remained and assumed paramount importance."²⁵ At the same time from the mid 1860s "the Montreal Mechanics' Hall became one of the principal cultural centres of the city thanks to its large lecture hall and central location."²⁶

Robins concludes from her examination that the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal was "like its counterparts in other parts of Canada, a middle class institution despite efforts to the contrary."²⁷ Again, her conclusions with respect to the second institute are bedeviled by the problem of defining mechanics and artisans. The ambiguity of her picture may be seen in the following statements:

The institution did attract and keep skilled workers and members of the middle class. The programs met their cultural aspirations and so received their support.²⁸ (In the 1860s) we find clerks, carpenters, and butchers

*rubbing shoulders with engineers, politicians and men of the cloth.*²⁹

It is true that as Robins stated, comments found in the minutes support the conclusion "that the institute was never able to attract what the executive felt was a sufficient number of mechanics and apprentices." Nevertheless, this does not point to their absence but rather to the fact that there were many in the community who did not take advantage of the opportunity the Institute presented.³⁰

There are a number of shortcomings and difficulties in Robins' interpretation of the Montreal Mechanics' institution. The first involves the absence of any examination of internal and external conflict and its effects on the Mechanics' Institute. For example, the decline in effectiveness of the institute in 1832 needs to be examined in the light of the major religious quarrel that troubled Montreal during this period. Indeed, Redpath's insistence on a new foundation in 1840 and the subsequent purchase of assets of the former institute may owe much to this same quarrel. A second example of unexamined conflict centers on the reason for the drastic drop in membership in 1843. This followed a controverted election and a controversial move into the building on St-Urbain Street until then occupied by the Ladies Benevolent Society.

Another shortcoming lies in Robins' failure to place the Mechanics' Institute within the context of similar institutions and to examine its role in the light of these relationships. Indeed, the constitution of the Mechanics' Institute mentions its relationship to the Natural History Society of Montreal. Such an examination would have revealed as well

that the difficulties of 1832 were experienced differently by the two societies and that the Natural History Society of Montreal, the Quebec Mechanics' Institute and the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec received several grants from the Assembly whereas the Montreal Mechanics' Institute received only one. Moreover, Robins' estimate of the educational endeavor of the Mechanics' Institute would have been enhanced by the examination of other available education provision.

The second journal article treating the Montreal institute is Patrick Keane's examination of the priorities and resources of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute in the period 1828 to 1843.³¹ Keane is the author of a series of articles on various aspects of adult education using the mechanics' institute movement to illustrate international trends and seeking to place the institutes within the context of an international useful knowledge movement. The general picture which he delineates is one in which middle class sponsors assume a bond of common interest between employer and employees and seek to mould the growing urban communities in their own image.

*Middle class sponsorship of mechanics' institutions was calculated to ensure that they followed the lines of social and economic orthodoxy rather than have their education contribute to any force inimical to the status quo.*³²

Keane explores the Montreal Mechanics' Institute from this viewpoint. The first executive elected in 1828 was representative of business and professional interests. It consisted of "a steamboat pioneer surrounded by members of the political establishment."³³ The institute's explicit

priority was to instruct English-speaking skilled workers in the various branches of science and useful knowledge. The institute, however, had two implicit priorities. The first had to do with the promotion of the community of interest between employers and employees, while the second avowed the viability of French-speaking involvement. A number of optimistic assumptions held by the institute's promoters proved unfounded. These included the beliefs that voluntarism was a sufficient basis to mount the proposed program and that adequate human and material resources were available in Montreal, that a popular lecture program would improve technical competence and that the provision of workshop and laboratory facilities would enable skilled workmen to make improvements to existing technology.

Keane argues that the question of adequate resources was central. Books had to be imported from Great Britain, teachers and apparatus for classroom instruction were in short supply, and the proposed research program was impractical and unthinkable given the absence of patent protection. In any case, the administration was more intent upon promoting a popular lecture program than in providing adequate resources for classroom instruction. For Keane, the breakdown of the institute's implicit priorities in the face of trade union activity in 1833 and 1834, and the unattractiveness of the English-speaking merchant's economic program for French-Canadians undermined its explicit priority. In 1835 the institute "lapsed into suspended animation."³⁴

The Mechanics' Institute was re-established with a new constitution in 1840 by promoters who "reflected the same business and professional interests that characterized the first promoters."³⁵ Keane avers that the absence of dissenting clergymen and French-Canadians suggests a "more Tory ethos" and reflected the rupture between the English and French-speaking middle classes which was noted in the Durham Report. He concludes that the moral preachments of the institute's promoters indicate that useful knowledge was to be a form of social control, conducive of the public interest rather than tailored to individual needs. Indeed the intended clientèle was viewed as deficient in cultural capital and incapable of abstract thought. Faced with the competition of kindred institutions and the indifference of its intended clients the first years of the institute's existence produced a watershed reorientation of its role. A popular and discursive lecture program geared to maximizing income, rejection of the Vattemare proposal for a single major learned society, the mounting of public exhibitions of science and technology, and the admission of women are characteristic of this reorientation.

In order to survive the institute had become more a cultural or social institution than a channel for scientific information or a molder and reinforcer of the scientific ethos.³⁶

In his evaluation of the institute Keane denies that it was instrumental in improving technical competence. He doubts that Montreal industry presented a market for a program geared to technical education and in any case the institute didn't muster sufficient resources for its classes for apprentices. However, the emphasis was on pure rather than applied science whenever science did enter the program.

Keane finds it more difficult to evaluate the effort at social control. He suggests that useful knowledge entered into a new amalgam with nationalism, fraternité, and ultimately radicalism in the Institut Canadien, founded in 1844, that was to challenge the English-speaking ethos. He does acknowledge, however, that the institute may have provided a limited form of social identity for English-speaking workers and leaves unanswered the question of whether the presentation of science may have presented them with "a subtle model of natural order" as proposed by Shapin and Barnes.

An number of remarks may be made about Keane's presentation. First of all, I think one should reiterate Harold Silver's warning about "the dangers of seeing local studies as an extension or confirmation of national trends."³⁷ One might add that the danger also exists for international comparisons. Surely more must be said about Esson's role than:

*The promotion of "useful knowledge" was to be undertaken frequently by nonconformist ministers, particularly the Unitarians, although its secular context was more likely to deter Anglican and Catholic clergy.*³⁸

The same is true of the role of the library. What is gained in the picture of the Montreal Institute's library by the analogy of increased circulation in comparable libraries as the proportion of scientific and technical works decreased?³⁹ Was it true for Montreal?

The promoters and membership of the first institute require clearer delineation than either Keane or Robins has provided. Henry Esson, for example, was a key figure in the Church of Scotland's struggle for

coestablishment with the Church of England, one of the major religious quarrels of the 1820s and 1830s. This makes it all the more interesting to find that the first corresponding members of the institute were John Galt and Dr. William Dunlop, Canada Company officials, who were seen by the York establishment as inimical to Church of England interests. Accused of indiscretion in 1829, Esson was the cause of the split in the St. Gabriel Street congregation in 1831, and may have been at the heart of the sharp decline in the fortunes of the institute in 1832. The political alignment of the institute's members in the 1832 by-election in Montreal West also enters the picture along with the political stance of the French-Canadian members of the institute. It is telling that Keane, while pointing up the trade union activities of 1833 and 1834, makes no mention of the change in building techniques in Montreal during the late 1820s and 1830s. Certainly the masons, carpenters and joiners who were using these new techniques appear to have been well represented in the first institute.

Some of the remarks about Robins' portrayal of the second institute also apply to Keane. John Redpath's role in the building of St. Paul's Church and his later refusal to use Henry Esson's congregation as the basis of the Free Church movement in Montreal may be related to the earlier quarrel within the St. Gabriel Street congregation. Certainly an antipathy to Esson and his followers would explain the insistence upon a new foundation in 1840. Similarly, it is difficult to see the admission of women to the institute in 1843 as a watershed event, when the membership category disappears completely in the following year. The

short span of three years in the affairs of the second institute is hardly sufficient to support Keane's hypothesis that the role of the institute was fundamentally changed.

In all these aspects discussion of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal joins a large and growing literature on the mechanics' institute movement. There is a continuing, lively debate about the promoters of such institutes, their motives and social, political and religious background. There is little agreement about the aims of the movement and whether its major aim was to promote science, to educate adults or to improve technical skills. There is a continuing debate about the intended clientèle of the institutes and about who actually attended. In fact, what was meant by the terms "artisan" and "mechanic" and their social and class status is far from clear in many writings. Finally, the educational achievements of the institutes are widely disputed.

There are a number of works on mechanics' institutes by contemporaries of the movement, some of whom were deeply involved in their activities and who proposed new orientations for the movement as a whole. J.W. Hudson and James Hole, for example, treated the mechanics' institutes as instruments of adult education which should be reoriented towards the working classes.

Modern work on the mechanics' institute movement dates from the 1930 doctoral thesis of Mabel Pythian (who became Dame Mabel Tylecote). Her survey of institutes in Lancashire and Yorkshire prior to 1851 was

known and used by a number of researchers prior to its publication in 1957.⁴⁰ Tylecote echoes a number of the opinions formulated by earlier contemporaries and commentators of the movement. In the same year that Tylecote's book appeared, Thomas Kelly's study of George Birkbeck was published.⁴¹ Together with Kelly's later book on adult education,⁴² Tylecote and Kelly's studies formed the normative interpretation of the mechanics' institute movement.

This work was overtaken by the study of science in its cultural and political context and the writing of social history. The latter attempted to depict the political, religious and social pressures which shaped the movement either in its national form or within particular contexts. Various schools of thought challenged received interpretations and sought to apply sociological concepts to the interpretation of the mechanics' institute movement. In the next chapter I will examine some of these ways of viewing the institutes.

The history of the rise and development of the mechanics' institute movement will form the substance of a third chapter. It is important to situate the history of the Montreal institute within this larger context. R.H. Gidney has pointed out that nineteenth century British North Americans drew their educational thought and convictions from a fund of common ideas.⁴³ There was, however, a process of adaptation of the ideas and forms of the Old World to fit the differing political, social and economic realities of the New World. To give but one example of the differences we need only point to the issue of government grants to the

mechanics' institutes. In British North America such grants were made as early as 1831 whereas in Britain requests for grants were refused as late as 1847 and the issue of accepting government support was debated within the institutes. In this chapter I will pay particular attention to some of the social, political, religious and cultural influences which affected the history of the institutes.

In the fourth chapter I essay to estimate the educational work of the mechanics' institute movement in Great Britain. This is no easy task for the institutes were responsible for many facets of education ranging from basic literacy and the improvement of basic skills, through scientific and technical education, commercial education, the study of languages and literature, and various cultural pursuits. In addition, the story of their educational endeavor is part of a larger story of the development of other institutions which were established to rival, complement or complete the tasks which they had undertaken.

In the fifth chapter I will outline the history and achievements of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute founded in 1828. This will involve, as far as is possible, a clear delineation of the Montreal institute's founders, membership and activities. Both C.M. Turner and I. Inkster have urged that each institute be studied within its own specific sociological setting.⁴⁴ Indeed, Inkster advocates placing "the specific institution within a network of similar, intuitively or systematically relevant institutions, and an analysis of the inter-relationships observed."⁴⁵ Therefore, I will pay particular attention to a number of other

institutions which appeared in Montreal in the 1820s. The chapter will attempt to bring together what can be known of the educational activities of the first institute.

The sixth chapter will be devoted to the development of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal, re-established in 1840, and its activities. Here too I will examine some of the contemporary institutions including the developing school system. There will be occasion to examine the educational claims put forward by the institution as early as the 1850s when J.W. Hudson wrote,

the Mechanics' Institutes in the same towns (i.e., Montreal, Quebec, Hamilton, and Toronto), afford an example worthy of imitation at home. Their libraries are comparatively extensive, and their annual exhibitions are purely of a practical nature, affording the best popular evidence of the progress of scientific discovery. The managers of the Canadian Mechanics' Institutions endeavour to instil in the minds of their members, a regard for the great principles of the arts, and they seem to impress upon the thousands who visit their exhibitions, the importance of the study of the physical sciences, as the chief element of the developement (sic) of civilization.⁴⁶

In a concluding chapter I will summarize the educational contribution of the two Montreal institutes and briefly draw out the comparison of its work with that of the movement in Great Britain.

Notes to Chapter One

1. N. Bosworth, Hochelaga Depicta, pp. 192f.
2. W.H. Atherton, Montreal 1535-1914, vol. 2, p. 353.
3. Ibid., p. 350.
4. Ibid., p. 321f.
5. Ibid., p. 353.
6. Les Cahiers des Dix 16 (1951) p. 245.
7. Ibid., p. 246.
8. E.C. Moodey, The Fraser-Hickson Library: an informal history (1971) p. 17.
9. Ibid., p. 20.
10. Atwater Library of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal, p. 4.
11. Ibid., p. 3.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 4.
14. Ibid.
15. Ibid., p. 5.
16. Ibid., p. 7.
17. Canadian Library Journal 38(1981) pp. 373-379. The original paper is not available.
18. Ibid., p. 374f.
19. Ibid., p. 375.
20. Ibid., p. 375 (my underlining).
21. Ibid.
22. Ibid., p. 376.
23. Ibid., p. 377.

24. Ibid., p. 378.
25. Ibid., p. 379.
26. Ibid., p. 378.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., p. 379 (my underlining).
29. Ibid., p. 376 (my underlining).
30. Ibid. V. chapter six infra.
31. McGill Journal of Education 23(1988) pp. 171-187.
32. Social Utility and the Professional Educator: Some Victorian Viewpoints, Vocational Aspect of Education 34(1982) p. 46.
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44. C.M. Turner, Sociological Approaches to the History of Education, 1969, p. 169; I. Inkster, Science and the Mechanics' Institutes, 1820-1850:

The Case of Sheffield, 1975, p. 473f.

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46. The History of Adult Education (1851) p. 218f.

Chapter Two: Ways of Seeing the Mechanics' Institutes

Mechanics' institutes have been studied using a number of contexts and approaches. They have been assessed by historians of education, science and technology, working class culture, and leisure and recreation. In these studies the institutes are seen to be involved in the changing social, political, economic and religious currents of the nineteenth century. An examination of these various perspectives would yield a panorama of the ever-changing fashions of the historian's craft. In this chapter, I will look briefly at the economic approach and then more fully at the social approach in several of these studies before suggesting the use of an educational context for discussion of the mechanics' institutes.

The economic approach links education to economic development and growth. W.H.G. Armytage, for example, saw education as a means of boosting economic growth as well as a way of easing the misery caused by the dislocations concomitant with growth.¹ There is a debate within the economic approach about the place of science and education in the Industrial Revolution. Some argue that these two elements were the precondition for economic development and growth. Others see science and education as an accompaniment of that same growth and development. Still others think that science and education were consequent upon economic development.

Thomas Kelly saw Mechanics' institutes "as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution."² There was a new interest in applied science

arising from the Industrial Revolution and it is possible to find a correlation between the development of the institutes and the economic development of England. He wrote,

*The whole movement is obviously related to the progress of the Industrial Revolution, to the growing urbanization of the population consequent upon that revolution, and in particular to the increasing need for skilled workers created by the growth of the great mining, metallurgical, engineering and textile industries. It is moreover possible to trace a definite connection between the growth of the mechanics' institutes and the cyclical movements of trade and employment ... In this respect the mechanics' institutes differ from other working-class movements such as trade unionism, cooperation, and Chartism, which tended to flourish in years of depression. With these movements the correlation is in the main negative one.*³

Within this approach Kelly examined Mechanics' institutes as purveyors of adult education.

Others who adhered to the economic approach attempted to find in the institutes the beginnings of technical education. G.W. Roderick and M.D. Stephens have a large number of articles that begin from the assertion that

*The First Industrial Revolution showed an increasing appetite for skilled and educated manpower.*⁴

The result was the rise of the Mechanics' institute movement whose aim was to instruct members "in the principles of the arts they practice and in the various branches of science." For Roderick and Stephens this development was "wrong-headed, and based on false assumptions,"⁵ which would lead to Britain's loss of industrial supremacy at the beginning of the twentieth century. The artisans, for whom this scientific and technical training was intended lacked the

necessary basic education and the real need was not on the shop floor but in middle management and in the new professions.

Sir Eric Ashby, who also used an economic approach, asserted that the Mechanics' institute movement was "one of the great educational movements in British history."⁶ In spite of this, up to 1851 they "had made little impression upon technology in Britain," and they failed to meet the need for popular technical education because of workers' long hours and lack of primary education, as well as the lack of recognition accorded by employers to those who followed courses. Their achievements are to be measured in terms of the outstanding individuals they started on the road to success, the unions of institutes which were the beginning of organized technical education, and the fact that they became part of the effective national system of technical education that arose in the 1880s.⁷

Others are less certain of the relationship between education and economic progress or find that it was lack of provision of education that led to a degeneration in Britain's economic performance vis-à-vis other nations in Europe and North America. Margaret Gowing found a "relative British industrial decline that began about 1870." At a time when science and technology became central to industrialization Britain lost ground because of its "failure in the nineteenth century to develop the education system essential for national efficiency."⁸ S.F. Cotgrove suggested that the institutes failed because they did not provide a

curriculum which satisfied the "demand by artisans for practical instruction which would improve their skill and make them better workmen."⁹ He blamed all the ills of later technical education on the Mechanics' institutes, namely, the teaching of scientific principles rather than skills, the separation of theory and practice, evening classes for day-time workers, as well as the tying of science to vocational outcomes rather than a liberal education.¹⁰

The social approach attempts to take into account the relation of education to the social as well as the economic context. To that end it employs a number of concepts and models derived from sociology. To take but one example, C.M. Turner used a functionalist model which focused upon the motives and attitudes of various groups in British society whether they held favorable or unfavorable views of the Mechanics' institutes. In this he asked who defines what is a social problem, how do they understand the facts, and do they believe that the problem can be solved. His concern was to focus on how the system resolves conflict and achieves consensus in the face of social change.¹¹

One of Turner's postulates was that social control is exercised through the socialization process in which norms, values and roles are taught and internalized. He posits a struggle for control of these processes by the working-class in order to have agencies based on a working-class culture, a struggle which was ultimately lost by the mechanics and artisans to the lower middle class, which sought to internalize middle class values and differentiate themselves from the working class. The

struggle for control of the socializing agencies may be seen in the history of the Mechanics' institutes, which consciously aimed to reinforce the mores and norms of society, and in the rise of the Halls of Science, the Chartist Institutes and the Mutual Help Societies which incorporated the more radical working-class values.¹²

J.F.C. Harrison also claimed to use "the ideas and the attitudes of those taking part" and to trace "the social origin and development of those ideas and attitudes."¹³ He averred that

By far the most impressive - both in members and educational achievement - of all the institutions for adult education before 1870 were the mechanics' institutes, intended, as their name implies, primarily for working men ... They were essentially a middle-class venture in adult education.¹⁴

Like most provided schooling and adult education the institutes were under the dominant ideology of the middle classes, who attempted to "make over the whole of society in their own image."

Most middle-class efforts to promote 'the mental and moral improvement' of the working classes, including adult education, in early and mid-Victorian England were in essence attempts to help the working classes to assimilate themselves more completely into the new society.

Educational provision for the people was not a response to popular demand from below. The schools were not the people's institutions, but rather instruments for shaping society according to dominant middle-class views.¹⁵

According to Harrison, the middle classes sought to use adult education as a means of checking the spread of radicalism among the literate section of the working classes.

A number of interpreters have seen Mechanics' institutes in terms of the concepts of social control and hegemony. Richard Johnson in a

series of essays attempted to set forth a consistent interpretation of education in these terms:

One way of viewing the social history of the whole period from the 1790s to the mid 1840s is as an extended war over the winning of consent, a prolonged crisis in hegemony, marked by partial stabilisations but also, in default of this, the repeated use of the rather underdeveloped coercive apparatuses of the state to reinforce the economic power of the gentry and the industrial bourgeoisie. It was not until the 1840s, and perhaps rather late in that decade, that hegemony was re-worked in new forms ... In this period, schooling as a public if not a state apparatus was actually forced into existence in England by the collapse of older systems of control.¹⁶

Within this schema Johnson saw the Mechanics' institute movement as an attempted educational alliance between Lord Brougham representing the Whigs and the radicals and working-class adults.¹⁷

Others have attempted to see this same period in terms of the maintenance of hegemony through control of the ideological structure. For J.V. Smith, for example, the Mechanics' institutes were an attempt to spread the ideas involved in an "ideology of industrialization." Men of the commercial and industrial class sought to link scientific rationality to the inherent logical development of technology.¹⁸ On the other hand, men like Thomas Dick of Methven objected to the 'value-free' sciences and narrow curricula of the Mechanics' institute and advocated the teaching of astronomy and natural history in order to introduce natural theology and morality to adult education.¹⁹ Similarly, A. Tyrrell traced the attempt to introduce to the institutes the teaching of Political economy, in order to bring about a peaceful adjustment on

the part of workers to industrialization and urbanization, and its subsequent rejection.²⁰

Steven Shapin and Barry Barnes, who employed a sociology of knowledge, accepted the social control concept as their starting point in an examination of the initial purposes of the founders and the design of the curricula of the Mechanics' institutes.

The Institutes were not projected by the same sort of people they were intended to serve. Rather, they were in general organized by interested members of the middle classes for specified sectors of the working classes.²¹ The founding of the Mechanics' Institutes, like most British educational policy in the early nineteenth century, was mainly informed by an interest in social control.²²

The strategy involved building "an alliance or community of interest between the bourgeoisie and the upper section of the working classes, the emerging labour aristocracy," which consisted of mechanics, skilled operatives and artisans. Science because of its supposed objectivity and value-neutrality was to provide a basis on which the middle and upper classes, no matter what their political or religious philosophy, could unite to stabilize the behavior of an industrializing society.

The pure sciences, mathematics, mechanics and chemistry, had pride of place in the early curricula of the Mechanics' institutes in order to implant in mechanics' minds by means of a simplified version of science or a reified body of knowledge a subtle model of natural order which might be evoked to set limits on the possibilities of human actions. The founder believed that

a regimen of scientific education for certain members of the working

*class would render them, and their class as a whole, more docile, less troublesome, and more accepting of the emerging structure of industrial society.*²³

Shapin and Barnes considered that the Mechanics' institutes might

*belong toward the end of a chain of cultural innovations leading from Paley on the one hand and Adam Smith on the other, through various strands of natural theology and political economy, always to increasingly naturalistic cosmologies. It is likely that what we have before us is a series of failed experiments in the construction of ideologies, all successively rejected by the lower orders, and successively replaced by apparently more objective and naturalistic alternatives. Perhaps elite groups continually found themselves obliged to tone down what ideally they would have wished to convey to the working classes, in a vain attempt to gain credibility.*²⁴

The shift in the curriculum content of the mechanics' institutes in the 1830s toward the fine and performing arts, languages, drawing, etc.,²⁵ was the result of a change in the personnel and purposes of the institutes; they became "increasingly petty-bourgeois in character" and were centered on entertainment and only later on "the genuine transmission of utilizable technical and computational skills."²⁶

In the work of P. Bailey and H. Cunningham there has been an attempt to place the mechanics' institutes within the context of rational recreation. For Bailey "rational recreation proceeded from a basic humanitarian sympathy with the plight of the working masses".²⁷ The mechanics' institutes and the Lyceums proposed by Benjamin Heywood at Manchester attempted through education and recreation to stimulate the mind.

Cunningham, on the other hand, used a modified version of the social control concept. He found the origin of rational recreation for the working class not only in the desire for social control but also

in guilt as well as in fear; in consequence there was a positive urge to open up to the working class cultural and aesthetic experiences from which it had previously been excluded.²⁸

He denies that there was a rational recreation movement as such.

Rather what seems to have happened is that in the late 1820s and in the 1830s quite a number of people began to perceive working-class leisure as a problem, and to think of the expansion of rational recreational ideals from their own (middle class) ranks as a solution.²⁹

The enemy against which rational recreation was now posing itself was the popular culture with its emphasis on drink, on spontaneity, on emotional involvement, on physical contact. Ordered, disciplined, improving, educational leisure was what the rational recreationists hoped for.³⁰

The concepts of social control and hegemony have become so dominant in much of the history of education that there have been a number of reactions. Quite apart from the fact that the sociological concept of control is employed in a different sense than it was originally intended,³¹ there are valid criticisms of its use. A.P. Donajgradzki, for example, warns of the danger of reductionism,

social control may be only one aspect of relationships or institutional forms. To identify social control processes ... is not to assert that the control element within (an institution or relationship) is necessarily its main characteristic, still less its only meaning.³²

He continues that

although the upper classes might share a hegemonic aim, their different interests prevented the adoption of a plan to enforce it.³³

Similarly C.A. Russell wrote,

social control has tended to become so dominant in some writings, that other, equally relevant, considerations are excluded.³⁴

E. and S. Yeo remark that the concept of social control has determined the historian's definition of his subject,

Social control as a concept in use now by historians and sociologists comes from problems ... as they are formulated from above ... (and) neglects the frontiers on which power is contested.³⁵

Eileen and Stephen Yeo eschew any attempt to write either a history from above or a history from below. They see history as a series of struggles over who was to exercise social initiatives. They want to capture the moment of crisis when social control (in its original sense) has broken down. There is a process of resistance and adaptation which they want to examine. As they put it in two of their apt phrases:

Making a working class from above was (and is) as difficult as making a working class from below.³⁶

Crude, one-sided, class interpretation, particularly if it is articulated in terms of conspiracy or intention has ... to be resisted.³⁷

They point out some of the constraints to working class participation in leisure time activities including: long working hours, low wages, little leisure time, and the annual cycles of work disrupted by economic depression.³⁸ Eileen Yeo studied the conflict in the Manchester Mechanics' Institute and suggested that "the first demands for independent cultural institutions arose in the battle against the middle-class imposition of education and culture through Mechanics' Institutes."³⁹ For Yeo, the Owenite demands were for democratic government of the institutes and a form of cooperative, non-technological learning.⁴⁰ To full participate in working class movements

one would have to belong to the "upper artisan bracket," or the "best-paid strata of the local working class."⁴¹

Still other scholars have pointed out instances where the hypothesis of social control overstates the facts in question. G. Kitteringham, for instance, pointed out that harmony rather than social control was the basis for the ban on discussion of religion and politics in the institutes.⁴² T. Laqueur, for his part, argued that "there was no compulsion to attend any school, public or private."⁴³ Accordingly it was working class demand that transformed elementary schooling by stimulating the supply and broadening the curriculum of public schools. Because alternatives existed working class parents could be discriminating in their choice of school.⁴⁴ These are important considerations which need to be taken into account in reading the context for early nineteenth century schooling.

Ian Inkster attempted a re-interpretation of the mechanics' institutes, arguing that "the provincial mechanics' institutes of England were as much the product of a general and pervasive scientific culture as they were of a particular educational movement."⁴⁵ According to him

*science was a much more significant element in the institutes for this period (i.e., 1820-1850) than has often been thought.*⁴⁶

He contends that the provincial context of itinerant scientific lecturing and local provision of science instruction should receive more weight than the metropolitan influences generally cited. To this end

The functions of the institutes can only be estimated after placing them in situ with some degree of precision for a member of a mechanics'

institute could rely not only upon the institute but also on a variety of societies and institutions in the same area as a means of scientific provision, entertainment and instruction ... it is only within the context of the total local environment that the impact of any one provincial mechanics' institute can possibly be judged.⁴⁷

After such an examination of the Sheffield mechanics' institute he states that its origins "lay firmly with the scientific community," that it was "mainly middle class in its origins as well as in its workings" and that "it was quite possibly their interest in science rather than their identity as a class and the oft-implied motivation of institutionalized social control which bound them together."⁴⁸

In a subsequent article Inkster employs a functionalist sociological framework to examine the provincial mechanics' institutes. According to his analysis,

it was the differential fulfillment of functions along social class lines which determined much behind the origins, rise, nature and decline of the Mechanics' Institute ... when the latent and manifest functions of the Institutes for the Middle Class Activists were (for a variety of reasons) no longer necessary, ... the movement lost energy and went into a serious decline from which it never fully recovered.⁴⁹

He portrays the London Mechanics' Institute, which he sets aside as of little use in the explanation of the provincial context of the movement,⁵⁰ as a "middle-class social institution from the beginning"⁵¹ providing for a relatively established and socially confident middle class

a platform for the activities and proscriptions of middle class groups, and even a means of instruction for those members of the working class who were willing to accept its social image as either conducive to their own needs, or as a necessary evil.⁵²

Support for the institute declined as members redirected their energies into other agencies "with the intention of satisfying continuing social and personal requirements."⁵³

According to Inkster the provincial social context differed greatly. In this setting he concentrates on the activists, those who were creators of the institute's activities, rather the receivers or audience of such activities. There, as Thackray had proposed two years previously in his study of why men in Manchester allied themselves with science, supporters of mechanics' institutes were marginal men seeking social legitimacy and using science as an alternative ideology.

*For them, the mechanics' institute fulfilled two outstanding functions. As popular scientific platforms they (sic) were part of a legitimizing cultural nexus. Secondly, as voluntary associations they fulfilled the function of social integration and identification.*⁵⁴

Inkster links the decline of the mechanics' institutes in the 1840s to the decline of science as a fundamental component of provincial culture.⁵⁵ It was no longer needed as a means of cultural self-expression because its former proponents

*had become established local figures, recipients of the somewhat wider franchise and officials of local Government.*⁵⁶

Similarly, members of the working class turned toward "more independent institutional forms"⁵⁷ as such alternatives appeared. Hence there was

*an explosion in the 1840s of a very popular culture based upon the entertainment provided by the intrigue or mystery of the idea of science, rather than science itself.*⁵⁸

The mechanics' institutes after 1850 no longer reflected social needs but rather were sustained by government action as "grants from the centre replaced culture in the provinces,"⁵⁹ while working class education which developed in the 1840s "was non-scientific and eminently independent."⁶⁰

J.B. Morrell commented on the attempt to explain the use of science by marginal men as a means of upward mobility and entry to social recognition and social hegemony:

Apart from the internal difficulties of this thesis, it is high time that historians took into account those local, social, economic, class, political and denominational elements, exacerbated or produced by industrialization, which acted as restraints or stimuli on local public science. ... It is true that the aim of hegemony was central to local agendas and rivalries; but science could be just one of several vehicles for the display of cultural signals, the acquisition of urban power, and the adjustment of social relations.⁶¹

Inkster himself appears to have moved away from the marginality hypothesis toward a twelve factor demographic social-economic analysis of local settings. Accordingly the factors which determine the differences which arose in the nature of scientific enterprise in different settings include: size and rate of growth of urban population, industrial structure, occupational characteristics, class structure, commercial openness, relative geographical isolation, earlier scientific traditions, non-scientific cultural groups and institutions, the presence of cosmopolitan groups and individuals, the persistence and strategic

success of leading savants, and the local political structure.⁶² Morrell accepts the model with slight transformations of wording and suggests that one add to it two other considerations. The first is a combination of the Marxian stress on conflict and the Namierian emphasis on interests.

*Provincial public science, like much else, may be explained in terms of competition between various groups and individuals, who use whatever resources they can to serve whatever interests they have in mind.*⁶³

In addition, he indicates that an awareness of local religious and denominational structure is important although not necessarily unrelated to politics.

D. Knight wrote that there is a danger in the use of sociological studies in examining scientific societies of having studies of institutions with the science left out. One arrives at

*analyses of societies which happen to practice science but might have been growing leeks, because it is the status of the members rather than the nature of their activity which interests the researcher.*⁶⁴

C.M. Heward was concerned that writing about popular science education in terms of the activities of a superior class for the working class ignored their science traditions and desires for intellectual growth and improvement, thus leading to an economic interpretation of those activities.⁶⁵ Heward, therefore, challenged scholars to use "perspectives in which working class groups and individuals are viewed as active participants"⁶⁶ rather than approaches which emphasize activities for the working classes, who are thus seen as passive recipients.

There are a number of such indications that there is a need to take a more avowedly educational approach to the Mechanics' institutes. A.D. Garner and E.W. Jenkins, for example, pointed out that the work of S. Shapin and B. Barnes and Inkster's early works downgrade the importance of educational motives in the development of the mechanics' institute movement.⁶⁷ W.B. Stevens found that Mechanics' institutes first arose "in the very areas where other educational provision was lacking."⁶⁸ L. Stone, in an earlier study of literacy rates, underlined that

*Between 1800 and 1840 ... the big industrial cities were growing faster than their educational facilities, and urban literacy was most probably in decline.*⁶⁹

He links Mechanics' institutes with the continued improvement in the education of the foreman, the mechanic and the artisan.⁷⁰

Therefore in the material on the Montreal Mechanics' Institutes I will attempt to set them within a number of different contexts and make references to institutions which had similar purposes. Moreover, I will endeavor to make the links between the institutes and available schooling of various forms found in the community.

Notes to Chapter Two

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3. Idem., George Birkbeck: Pioneer of Adult Education, p. 208.
4. M.D. Stephens and G.W. Roderick, British Artisan Scientific and Technical Education in the Early Nineteenth Century, p. 88.
5. Ibid.,
6. Sir Eric Ashby, Education for an Age of Technology, p. 777.
7. Ibid., p. 779.
8. Margaret Gowing, Science, Technology and Education: England in 1870, p. 86 (her underlining).
9. S.F. Cotgrove, Technical Education and Social Change, p. 49f
10. Ibid., p. 16, 34 etc.
11. C.M. Turner, Sociological Approaches to the History of Education, p. 147, 159.
12. Ibid. p. 162f.
13. J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1860, p. xi.
14. Ibid., p. 58.
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16. R. Johnson, Notes on the Schooling of the English Working Class 1780-1850, p. 50 (his underlining)
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19. Idem., Reason, revelation and reform: Thomas Dick of Methven and the 'Improvement of Society by the Diffusion of Knowledge' p. 265.
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29. Ibid.,
30. Ibid., p. 90.
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32. A.P. Donajrodzki, Introduction, Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain, p. 15.
33. Ibid., p. 17.
34. C.A. Russell, Science and Social Change 1700-1900, p. 165.
35. E. and S. Yeo, Ways of Seeing: Control and Leisure versus Class and Struggle, 130f. (my underlining).
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Struggle, p. 301.

38. E. Yeo, Culture and Constraint in Working-Class Movements, 1830-1855, p. 161f.
39. Idem., Robert Owen and Radical Culture, p. 89.
40. Ibid., p. 89f.
41. Ibid., p. 95.
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44. Ibid., p. 198.
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46. Ibid., p. 458.
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49. I. Inkster, The Social Context of an Educational Movement: A Revisionist Approach to the English Mechanics' Institutes, 1800-1850, p. 284 (his underlining).
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52. Ibid., p. 287.
53. Ibid., p. 287.
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55. Ibid., p. 289.
56. Ibid., p. 298.
57. Ibid., p. 297.
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64. D. Knight, The Age of Science: The Scientific World-view in the Nineteenth Century p. 214.
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70. Ibid., p. 131.

Chapter Three: The Rise and Development of the Mechanics' Institute Movement

Events in Glasgow in 1823 were the trigger that set off the Mechanics' Institute movement.¹ Early in February of that year the mechanics' class of the Anderson Institute decided to honor Dr. George Birkbeck who had initiated the class almost a quarter of a century earlier. Then, after difficulties developed between the class members and the Institute managers over class arrangements and control of the books in the library, the mechanics' committee voted in July to secede and found an institute of their own. The Glasgow Mechanics' Institute was inaugurated November 5, 1823 in a former chapel with Birkbeck as its Patron. These events were noted by J.C. Robertson and Thomas Hodgskin editors of the Mechanics' Magazine founded in August 1823. They proposed in an editorial in the October 11 issue that a mechanics' institute, such as was found in Glasgow, Edinburgh and Liverpool, should be established in London.

George Birkbeck had moved to London in 1806 and quickly integrated into network of medical and scientific societies there. In that year he became a shareholder in the London Institution, an institute founded the previous year by a group with commercial and professional interests, which had broken away from the Royal Institution and disputed the latter's control of scientific endeavor. In 1812 he was a member of the new management of the London Institution which was advocating a larger program of science lecturing oriented to middle class professional interests. When the Institution opened its newly erected building in

1819 Birkbeck offered a series of twelve lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy gratis, and three years later a second series of seven lectures, to help offset the drain on its funds caused by the building program. George Birkbeck responded to the 1823 proposal of Robertson and Hodgskin to open a mechanics' institute with an offer of assistance. He appears to have interested Henry Brougham in the scheme.

The initial proposal of Robertson and Hodgskin was clearly intended for the education of mechanics and makes mention of "operatives" and the assistance which might come from "master mechanics" to initiate "schools for instructing people in the mechanical arts" formed by voluntary means rather than with government assistance.² Birkbeck also referred to education of "operatives" and admitted that earlier "the difference in the preliminary education of the mechanics of the two countries" as well as "the want of decided practical evidence of the applicability and utility of science to the purposes for which the institution was intended," that is, teaching mechanics the principles of the arts they practice, had deterred him from acting. In 1823, however, the proven utility of science and the "vast extension of tuition within the present century" made the proposal for an institution in which mechanics paid for their tuition apt.³

The London Mechanics' Institute was inaugurated in December 1823 after a series of preliminary meetings. The proposed end was the

instruction of Mechanics, at a cheap rate, in the principles of the arts

*they practice, as well as in all other branches of useful knowledge.*⁴

This educational program was to be accomplished by

*the establishment ... of lectureships on the different arts and sciences, a library of reference and circulation, a reading room, a museum of models, a school of design, and an experimental work-shop and laboratory, provided with all necessary instruments and apparatus.*⁵

The activities developed slowly. Lectures, highly scientific in orientation during the first three years, began in January 1824. A reading room and classes, beginning with arithmetic and later encompassing mathematics, drawing, geography and French, opened in the last month of the year. A circulating library started in September 1825.

The clientèle at the beginning appears to have been largely skilled artisans and tradesmen.⁶ The annual subscription fee of 20s., which rose to 24s. in March 1827, would have deterred labourers and even the operatives who had been mentioned in the proposal. On the other hand, the decision taken before the institute opened to admit "every man who earned his living by the work of his hands" permitted other occupational groups to avail themselves of the institute's facilities. Indeed, the entry of numerous clerical workers in 1826 led to an attempted redefinition by the Committee in that year of "working classes" to mean those "who work and do not employ journeymen." This and a similar attempt in 1834 to define the words to mean "all those persons who are employed" were defeated by the membership.⁷ A large debt and falling membership numbers led the Committee to actively seek members among other groups. One such attempt was the

circulation in October 1830 of an announcement about the institute to lawyer's clerks who inhabited the immediate neighbourhood.⁸ Nevertheless, the majority of members continued to be from the working classes. The list of members' occupations submitted by C. Toplis to the Select Committee on the Arts and Manufactures in 1835 showed 50% connected with various trades, 16% unclassified, 12% clerks and warehousemen, 9% student and apprentice members, 9% merchants, shopkeepers, clerks, etc., 3% other occupations, 2% gentlemen, professionals, etc.⁹

Henry Brougham, who took an active part in the promotion of mechanics' institutes, had been an advocate of popular education from at least 1816.¹⁰ He is credited with a part in initiating the infant schools movement. In 1816, and again in 1818, Brougham chaired Parliamentary Committees dealing with education of the poor. In 1820 he proposed an Education bill which failed to receive the necessary support to carry in the House of Commons. He was involved in 1825 in the establishment of the University of London. Again in 1826 he put forward an Education bill which failed.

In October 1824 Brougham published an article "Scientific Education of the People" in the Edinburgh Review which was elaborated three months later in his pamphlet Practical Observations upon the education of the People, addressed to the Working Classes and their Employers. In these publications he urged the founding of mechanics' institutions where reading might be supplemented by lectures and advocated

not merely Seminaries for teaching mechanics the principles of natural and mechanical sciences but of schools where the working classes generally may learn those branches of knowledge which they cannot master by private reading.¹¹

Thus there were present from the very beginning two differing visions of the work of the mechanics' institutions, that of Birkbeck centered on science and that of Brougham which advocated general education.

The London Mechanics' Institute, and, to a lesser extent, the institutes of Glasgow and Edinburgh served as models for the development of other institutes throughout Great Britain. From six institutes in 1823, an additional fourteen in 1824, then another seventy in 1825, the number reached one hundred and four by the end of 1826 and maintained the number at about one hundred, with additions and demises, through 1831. Kelly states that the institutes were largely concentrated on London, the Forth-Clyde area of Scotland, the industrial counties of the North of England and the seaports.¹²

As early as December 1823 there were projected mechanics' institutes in the north of England. The Edward Baines Sr. and Jr., and John Marshall Jr. were in touch with Brougham and a proposal for Leeds was printed in the Leeds Mercury. A formal prospectus followed in April 1824 and the institute opened in December 1824. Edward Baines Jr. was an advocate of the institutes in Yorkshire and late in life stated that he had lectured throughout the towns and villages of Yorkshire with Brougham's pamphlet in his hand.

From the beginning the mechanics' institute movement had a strong non-establishment, non-conformist flavor. Kelly lists among early subscribers and active supporters of the London institute the Whigs Henry Brougham, J.G. Lambton, Sir Robert Wilson and the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Radicals J.C. Hobhouse, Sir Francis Burdett, Major John Cartwright, and Francis Place, the Benthamites Jeremy Bentham, James Mill, George Grote, as well as others, including Robert Owen and William Cobbett. Quakers and Evangelical Anglicans such as William Allen and William Wilberforce also subscribed to the institute's funds but were not active in the work.¹³

In addition to his pamphlet promoting the institutes and his correspondence with the promoters of a number of them, Brougham's aid took two forms both of which were invaluable to the infant movement. The first was to have series of lectures prepared by experts in the summer of 1825 that could be read out and discussed in the institutes, when lecturers were not available. Subsequent to this, in September 1826, he attempted to survey the institutes about their activities, the effects of the economic depression of 1825 and 1826, their membership numbers, the types of books read, etc. The answers revealed that there was a move to have general literature and history as well as science in the new institutes. Brougham's biographer remarks

Here, very early in the general Mechanics' Institute movement, we have a definite swing away from Birkbeck's original conception toward Brougham's hope (shared by Birkbeck as the movement developed) that the Institutes should for the general education of working men.¹⁴

The second means of assistance developed by Brougham was the founding in November 1826 of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge which had as its purpose the publication and distribution of inexpensive literature.¹⁵ The society was responsible for a number of publications which circulated widely: the fortnightly Library of Useful Knowledge which appeared in March 1827, the Library of Entertaining Knowledge which appeared a year later, the Penny Magazine of 1832, the Penny Encyclopaedia of 1833, among other works. In 1831 Alfred Smith praised Brougham as

*the firm and mighty friend of the diffusion of knowledge (who gave) an irresistible impulse to society, which can end in nothing less than enlightening every class of the people.*¹⁶

An attempt by Birkbeck to survey the work of the mechanics' institutes failed in 1831, but the following year the movement resumed its growth. By 1841 the number of mechanics' institutes had risen from one hundred and one to two hundred sixty one. The mechanics' institutes were widely distributed, but there was a concentration in the manufacturing areas: Lancashire and the West Riding of Yorkshire, which led with 57 institutes, Central Scotland, the London area, the Midlands. There were also forty-four Literary and Scientific Institutes concentrated largely in the South of England, a more middle class endeavor for commercial and professional men, inaugurated in London in 1825 with Birkbeck's support.¹⁷

Meanwhile, the organization and the form of science was changing. The Geological Society founded in 1807 had challenged the hegemony of the

Royal Society. Following the death in 1820 of Sir Joseph Banks, who had been President of the Royal Society from 1778, there was a proliferation of specialist societies. The British Association for the Advancement of Science, founded in September 1831 to give more serious attention to science, divided into subject sections at its meetings. This meant that more discrete subject areas were established and the focus of individual researchers was narrowed. In turn lecturing, which often has been studied mainly in terms of audience expectations, was affected; shorter lecture courses treating more distinct subject matter appeared in mechanics' institutes and literary and philosophical societies ¹⁸

During the 1830s there were several political developments that had effects upon the mechanics' institute movement. The Reform Bill of 1832 enfranchised many of those who were the intended clientèle of the mechanics' institutes. By this act tradesmen and superior artisans in the towns were among those who obtained the vote.¹⁹ Moreover, in 1833 the House of Commons passed a Supply Bill that made provision for £20,000 for education. Grants for building schools, with preference for applications from large cities and towns, were provided to the two national educational societies. The intensified rivalry between the two national societies resulting from the educational grants may be mirrored in the establishment after 1835 of numerous mechanics' institutes under the auspices of the Church of England.²⁰

There were several attempts to establish some mechanism of coordination between the Mechanics' Institutes. In December 1835, subsequent to a Government proposal that it help to establish publicly supported schools of design, the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge corresponded with numerous institutes to find out their actual state.²¹ The scheme of prepared lectures and lecture outlines was revived and an annotated book catalogue published. The Central Society for Education founded in 1836, which acted as a pressure group seeking Government intervention and a state system of education, proposed that the institutes forward uniform reports to it. In 1838, one of its prominent members, Thomas Wyse, M.P., wrote about the Lyceum scheme in the United States and suggested that it was applicable to the institutes. There were several approaches to Government asking that the Institutes be relieved of property rates taxes.

Meanwhile, in 1835 the House of Commons had established a Select Committee on the Arts and their Connection with Manufactures. It recommended a Central School of Design with schools in the manufacturing districts. Charles Baker and others advocated engrafting the majority of the schools of design on to the existing mechanics' institutes. Baker even avowed that the majority of students in the institutes were in the art classes, and cited classes at London, Liverpool, Manchester, Bolton, Birmingham, Coventry, Sheffield, and Glasgow.²² J.W. Hudson, writing in 1851, criticized the expensive Government machinery and the stringent regulations adopted in connection with the schools.²³

In 1837 Charles Baker used the correspondence received by the Society for Diffusing Useful Knowledge from mechanics' institutes in a survey of their state, as well as the reports of a large number of institutes, libraries and other associations, to prepare an article which was published in the papers of the Central Society of Education. He proposed to outline their successes and failures and to suggest ways to make them more efficient. He saw the target group for mechanics' institutes as "builders, joiners, smiths, wrights, and handicraft trades."²⁴ He was aware, however, that

*as a body, the mechanics have not felt that education is one of their urgent and immediate wants; and therefore they have not availed themselves of the institutions formed for them, to such an extent as was at one time anticipated. The lower classes of operatives seem to want the conviction that knowledge extends the capabilities of man; and that, independently of its positive utility to them, great pleasures attend its acquisition.*²⁵

He also took notice of the need to provide a means to supplement the lack of schooling of many youths and acknowledged that

*For want of a superior system of preparatory training, these institutions have not operated so efficiently as they might have done.*²⁶

Baker found that there was a portion of the "industrious classes" that desired to educate their children and desired to have schools suited to their age opened at hours convenient for them. He advocated day schools in connection with institutes in order to unite their management and give parents the same influence over their children's education as they had in their own. In this connection he hoped that the government

would extend grants for their establishment on the same basis that it had to the two school societies.

In April 1839 a Committee on Education was established within Privy Council "for the consideration of all matters affecting the Education of the People"²⁷ and the education grant was increased to £30,000. There was a petition to the House of Commons in 1841 asking for grants toward the erection of buildings for mechanics' institutes and a memorial asking for exemption from the payment of general and local taxes.²⁸ However, sectarian cries scuttled a plan for national education, the Church of England refusing to countenance a system of education which was not connected to it, and various dissenters opposing government aid to Roman Catholics. There was a heroic attempt in the next decade to show that a national system of education could be established on a voluntary basis led by the Congregationalists under the leadership of Edward Baines and Rev. Edward Miall.²⁹

Prior to that, Baines had advocated and established The West Riding of Yorkshire Union of Mechanics' Institutes at Leeds in December 1837. Its aims were to engage lecturers for tours of the area institutes at a lower cost than individual institutes might obtain, to circulate manuscript lectures, and to provide a forum at the annual meetings for the exchange of information. The Union was reorganized and became much more effective in the mid 1840s.

Other Unions were attempted at this time without much success. The Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge called into being the London Association of Institutions for Adult Instruction in August 1839. The Society then sent its Secretary, T. Coates, on a tour of the Mechanics' Institutes to establish other regional unions with ties to a national union. Coates was able to bring several local unions into being but they had a short life and at least one such union refused to have anything to do with a national body.³⁰ A desire to maintain local autonomy and greatly varying local conditions and adaptations of the institute idea no doubt played a part in the lack of success in this venture.³¹

Economic conditions were difficult and rival groups sprang up to vie for the allegiance of the artisans and mechanics. There were Chartist Halls in several centers as well as Owenite Halls of Science.³² Toward the middle of the decade of the 1840s the number of Mechanics' Institutes began to increase again. The close of the decade saw the number of institutes at more than double what it had been ten years earlier, reaching about 700 institutes, Kelly remarked that

*By 1851 the institutions were so numerous and so varied in name, form, and function as almost to defy classification, and the confusion is made worse by the even greater variety of other organizations which were in many ways similar in scope and purpose ...*³³

Unions of Mechanics' Institutes were revived and new unions were put in place. The Schools of Design had also spread to the provincial cities.³⁴

J.W. Hudson writing at mid-century listed 702 literary and mechanics' institutes, of which 610 were in England.³⁵ The list included not only mechanics' institutes but also mutual improvement societies, literary and scientific institutes, Youth Guardian societies, Useful Knowledge societies, Young Men's institutions and People's institutes. There were about 120,000 subscribing members in the institutions, with 102,000 of these members in England. These institutes had 815,516 volumes in their libraries with an annual circulation of more than two million books. In 1850 there were 18,120 members in the evening classes of the institutes, that is about 15% of the membership. In addition, 5,840 lectures had been delivered. The mechanics' institutes were varied in both function and program. Some mechanics' institutes consisted of a library and newsroom only, some had a few lectures but no classes, some had a large proportion of their membership in classes, others a much smaller proportion. There were only a small number of institutes that possessed a museum. Fees also varied widely. An examination of Hudson's listing of institutions will quickly confirm Kelly's observation about the diverse nature of the institutes, which was cited above.

Despite statements to the contrary, the story of mechanics' institutes, although more difficult to follow due to the lack of scholarly investigation and increasing diversity consequent upon local factors, does not end in 1850.³⁶ Nor are the various contemporary estimates of their state and activities unrelated to the writers' need to denigrate the institutes in order to argue for a new and changed educational purpose.

Numerous institutes were still being founded in the 1850s, and many were still possessed of serious purpose. The peak in the number of mechanics' institutes may have come as late as the mid 1860s. Kelly suggests that the movement may have reached its peak about 1860 before the Public Libraries Act took effect.³⁷ Hemming, on the other hand, favors the period 1851 to 1868 as the peak period, without specifying a particular year.³⁸ A large number of institutional building projects came to fruition in the 1850s. Hemming reports that at least twenty-five institutes erected buildings in the 1850s.³⁹

Generally later scholars have followed J.W. Hudson's criticisms of the mechanics' institutes. According to Hudson the institutes were the haunt of "the clerk and the foreman." "They are attended by persons of a higher rank than those for whom they were designed." He doubted whether concerts, dramatic lectures, ventriloquial entertainments, and great public soirées, while gaining popularity for the institutes, would secure permanent support for them or only involve them in debt. He also criticized the declining attendance at evening classes and argued that the institutes were "becoming mere day-schools for boys, instead of intellectual seminaries for men."⁴⁰

Hudson's criticisms, however, require careful examination because they are directly related to some of his proposed changes and often appear to be contradicted by his own account. One finds, for example, that the type of institute catering to the needs of workingmen, which Hudson

advocated, already existed in many large industrial cities.⁴¹ Similarly, Barnett Blake in 1859 remarked

*However this assertion (of failure) may apply in other places, it has little or no truth when referring to the Mechanics' Institutes of Yorkshire, the majority of which not only supply the educational wants of working men, but are mainly supported, and, in many instances, managed by them.*⁴²

The Yorkshire Union had one hundred and nine associated institutes with a membership of 18,500, libraries containing 83,000 volumes and an annual circulation of 300,000. Lancashire and Cheshire Union, which was not supported by the Manchester and Liverpool Institutes, had fifty-two associated institutes with a membership of 14,186 members, libraries containing 99,183 volumes. The two institutes that stood aloof from the union had 2,414 members and libraries containing 28,300 volumes.⁴³ M. Tylecote considers that one quarter of the mechanics' institutes, which had twenty per cent of the total membership, were in Yorkshire and one ninth of the institutes, with one eighth of the membership, were in Lancashire.⁴⁴ Kelly too remarks on the "very heavy concentration of institutes in the West Riding, South-east Lancashire and the adjoining corner of North-east Cheshire."⁴⁵

There were several initiatives and developments that affected the Mechanics' institutes and their future role. The Government passed enabling legislation for municipal taxation in aid of Free libraries in 1850. The growing concern for Industrial education from the mid 1840s brought proposals for a central technical university with affiliates in the

provincial Mechanics' Institutes.⁴⁶ Spurred by the surplus from the Great Exhibition in 1851, the Government set up the Department of Science and Art. The Royal Society of Arts, which included a number of the officials in the new Department, was able to bring together in a union about 400 literary and mechanics' institutes. After an attempt to establish an elaborate lecturing scheme, the Society initiated an examination scheme in literary, scientific and technical subjects.⁴⁷ This was taken over by the Department in the early 1860s.

These developments were decisive for the future of the Mechanics' Institutes. Kelly suggested that the Mechanics' Institute movement underwent what almost amounted to a geographic scission.

In Scotland and the North of England ... the institutes tended to move increasingly in the direction of technical education, especially after the introduction of the Society of Arts and Science and Art Department examinations. In the South of England ... the trend towards technical education was less strong, and here many of the institutes were just general literary and scientific societies ... ⁴⁸

Hemming found a division even within the northern Institutes according to size and financial resources

... between those institutes too small, lacking in funds or geographically isolated to take up the gauntlet of science and technology, which were reduced to providing circulating library, games and reading room facilities ... and the trade schools which were forging the framework for the local authorities to take over and build upon ... ⁴⁹

In spite of the situation some of the small institutes attempted to provide technical and science classes.

The fate of the Mechanics' Institutes was not ignoble. Some converted into municipal Free Libraries or even municipal museums, others formed the basis of the Local Authority Technical Institutes after 1890. Still others became social clubs. According to Kelly there were still some fifty or so of the latter in existence at the mid-point of the twentieth century.⁵⁰

Notes to Chapter Three

1. This account is based largely on T. Kelly, George Birkbeck: Pioneer of Education (1957) and A History of Adult Education in Great Britain (1962), M. Tylecote, The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851 (1957) and J.F.C. Harrison, Living and Learning 1790-1960: A Study in the History of the English Adult Education Movement (1961).
2. Mechanics' Magazine, Oct. 1823 cited in T. Kelly, op. cit., (1957) p. 79. It may be noted that the oft quoted "men had better be without education ... than be educated by their ruler" is in the context an argument against government interference.
3. Birkbeck's letter offering his assistance appears in T. Kelly, op. cit., (1957) p. 81f.
4. Ibid. p. 84.
5. Ibid.
6. V. Mechanics' Magazine Nov. 15, 1823, reprinted in C.A. Russell, Scientific Organization and Communication p. 64, Those present at the inaugural meeting "consisted chiefly of that class for whose good they were intended, namely, working mechanics." Kelly, op. cit. (1957) p. 104, "It seems to be generally agreed that at the outset the majority of members were mechanics." On the other hand, J. Marshall Jr. wrote to Brougham Sept. 13, 1826 about the Institute at Holbeck that "The Mechanics' Institutes are at present adapted only for the elite of the working people" (cited M. Tylecote, op. cit., p. 79n.). Similarly, H. Silver, The Concept of Popular Education, p. 212, cites a review of Brougham in Blackwood's Magazine to the effect that the plans for Mechanics' Institutes catered only for a minority elite of the working classes and not for the bulk of the working men. The mechanics who belonged to the (London) Institution probably earned £80-200 per annum (and) had better incomes than clergymen, and most of them became masters. On the other hand, Kelly ibid., p. 109f., ascribes the change in clientèle to the raising of the fee from 20s. to 24s. in March 1827, with the explanation that "The fee of 24s. was a large sum for the ordinary journey man; it was less serious for the independent craftsman or the clerk, whose income, though it might not be greater, was less subject to the risk of unemployment."
7. T. Kelly, op. cit., (1957) pp. 110, 127 n. 2.
8. Ibid., p. 127 n. 3.

8. Ibid., p. 127 n. 3.
9. Ibid., p. 132f.
10. C. New, The Life of Henry Brougham to 1830.
11. Tylecote, op. cit., p. 25. C. New, op. cit., p. 337, "Throughout (the pamphlet) he insisted that lectures and classes would achieve little unless they were associated with reading ... The education of the people would also be achieved by lecturing, not alone but 'combined with reading and subservient to it', and, in scientific subjects by 'experimental illustrations'."
12. T. Kelly, op. cit. (1957) p. 230.
13. Ibid., p. 104.
14. C. New, op. cit., p. 342.
15. Voir F. Cavenagh, Lord Brougham and the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.
16. A. Smith, An Introductory Lecture on the Past and Present Study of Science, as regards the Working Classes, in C.A. Russell and D.C. Goodman, Science and the Rise of Technology since 1800, pp. 124-128.
17. T. Kelly, op. cit., (1957) pp. 212, 232, and op. cit. (1962) p. 125.
18. For lecturing voir I. Inkster, The Public Lecture as an Instrument of Science Education for Adults - the Case of Great Britain, c. 1750-1850, and J.N. Hays, The London lecturing empire, 1800-50.
19. Voir Mary Sturt, The Education of the People, p. 65; but cf. B. Supple, The Governing Framework: social class and institutional reform.
20. Voir J.W. Hudson, The History of Adult Education, p. 201f.
21. Voir P. Keane, Individualism and Efficiency in the Mechanics' Institutes, p. 199.
22. C. Baker, Mechanics' Institutions and Libraries, p. 244.

23. J.W. Hudson, op. cit., pp. 205-208.
24. C. Baker, op. cit., p. 238. Voir also p. 237, "The subscribers to such institutes are chiefly found to consist of small masters, superior artisans and mechanics, manufacturers, clerks, persons engaged in domestic trades, shopkeepers, and the more intelligent apprentices."
25. Ibid., p. 219 (my underlining) and cf. p. 237 for difficulty in recruiting the lowest class of operatives.
26. Ibid., p. 216.
27. M. Sturt, op. cit., p. 78.
28. W.H.G. Armytage, Some sources for the history of Technical Education in England, 5 (1956) p. 163.
29. Voir Derek Fraser, Edward Baines, p. 196f.
30. Voir excerpt of report appended to F. Cavenagh, op. cit.
31. For the expression of local autonomy and independence at various periods voir T. Wyse, On the Lyceum System in America, p. 222, "Mechanics' Institutions ... are necessarily constituted on self-governing principles. They recognize no other authority than their own elected administration." which finds an echo in J.W. Hudson, op. cit. p. 187, "Literary, Mechanics' and other adult educational societies are constituted on self-governing principles, and they recognize, as a general rule, no other authority than their own selected administration." J. Hole, op. cit., p. 3, wrote of "An unreasonable jealousy of all interference of Government on the part of the people, and an almost utter indifference on the part of the Government itself to its own highest duties."
32. Voir H. Silver, English Education and the Radicals 1780-1850, ch. 4 and 5.
33. T. Kelly, op. cit., (1957) p. 258.
34. T. Kelly, op. cit. (1957) p. 272 n. 2, "By 1849 there were Schools (of Design) at Manchester, Birmingham, Coventry, Nottingham, Stoke, Hanley, Norwich, Leeds, Sheffield, Huddersfield, Newcastle, Glasgow, and Paisley. Apart from the School of

Design at Leeds, which was associated with the Leeds Mechanics' Institution, all these efforts were independent of the mechanics' institutes, and the provincial Schools of Design were much criticized on that account."

35. J.W. Hudson, op. cit., p. vi.

36. M. Tylecote ended her book at 1851 although she recognized that Mechanics' Institutes continued well beyond that date. Ian Inkster ended his account with the developments of the 1840s and ignored the subsequent history. Others may have been misled by this to think that there is no history beyond mid-century.

37. T. Kelly, op. cit. (1962) p. 198.

38. J.P. Hemming, op. cit., p. 18.

39. Ibid.

40. J.W. Hudson, op. cit., pp. vii and ix.

41. Ibid., pp. 222-235.

42. Cited F. Royle, Mechanics' Institutes and the Working Classes, 1840-1860, p. 307.

43. J.W. Hudson, op. cit., p. 227.

44. M. Tylecote, op. cit., p. 259.

45. T. Kelly, op. cit. (1957) p. 259.

46. Dr. Lyon Playfair wanted an integration of the provincial schools of design with a central university of mines and manufactures at London; Henry Cole proposed an industrial university at South Kensington; James Hole, op. cit., p. 100, "Now what we would propose is, to render every Mechanics' Institution a branch College of the proposed Industrial University. Let the 'affiliated schools of industry' be formed on the basis of the Mechanics' Institute, or rather let the two be incorporated."

47. Voir A.D. Garner, The Society of Arts and the mechanics' institutes: The coordination of endeavour towards scientific and technical education, 1851-54.

47. Voir A.D. Garner, The Society of Arts and the mechanics' institutes: The coordination of endeavour towards scientific and technical education, 1851-54.

48. T. Kelly, op. cit. (1962) p. 198.

49. J.P. Hemming, op. cit., p. 22.

50. T. Kelly, op. cit., p. 199.

Chapter Four: Educational work of the Mechanics' Institute Movement in Great Britain

In this fourth chapter I will look briefly at the activities of the Mechanics' Institutes and attempt to place their educational work within the context of contemporary society. In this connection, I will suggest some relationships between the institutes and the expansion of elementary schooling as well as the rise of extended schooling. The material cannot be more than a sketch for the scholarly work to support this relationship is almost entirely lacking. To date there has been no one who has taken such an avowedly educational approach to the Mechanics' Institutes.

As mentioned previously, T. Kelly was concerned to see the Mechanics' institutes within an economic approach as purveyors of adult education. Nevertheless, he was suggestive of other possible interpretations and educational settings when he wrote:

Just as the institutes may be regarded as a downward extension of middle-class literary and philosophical societies, so also they may be regarded as an upward extension of the movement for elementary education of children ...

From yet another point of view they may be looked on as an educational reflection of the new political and economic aspirations of the working classes ...¹

Similarly Mabel Tylecote wrote that

The provision made for the education of children inevitably raised the problem of educational facilities for adults.²

In this thesis the institutes are viewed from a comprehensive point of view. This means that all of their constituent parts will be examined in

relation to each other. It is not enough to single out one aspect whether it be the library, or lecturing, or classes, to explain the purpose of the whole. Their proponents saw them in unitary fashion when they spoke of their purpose and achievements. In order to understand what they meant I will constantly have reference to this concern.

R. Johnson underlined that the reading habit and fellowship in the effort to understand were important factors for the working class in the maintenance of progress after schooling had terminated.³ C.M. Heward has also singled out this element arguing that for the working class education meant

*lifelong involvement ... with intellectual development, through reading, debate, and mutual improvement societies, and adult evening schools ...*⁴

Therefore the library and the concept of association promoted by the advocates of Mechanics' institutes should be very much to the fore in any study of the institutes.

It is important to see the lectures and the class work within the context of the foregoing elements. For many institutes the lectures were a means to an end, that of interesting the public in the quest for knowledge and understanding. Similarly the classes were proposed in order to enable the student to understand and consolidate his reading. Many contemporary schools were comprehensive; although they were intended for secondary or extended education they also included the lower elements. So it was with the classes in the Mechanics'

institutes. If they often did not extend much beyond elementary studies the same could be said of many contemporary schools.

Ian Inkster probed the role of the institutionalization of science lecturing in the establishment of the Mechanics' Institute movement.⁵ It would be beyond the scope of this thesis to attempt to examine the relationship between the changing nature of science and the changes in lecturing. Moreover, there is little indication that lecturing in the Institutes, or general lectures offered to the public in other forums, was ever strictly confined to science. It will suffice to state that science lecturing as such underwent a number of changes in the 1830s by which shorter, more popular, science courses were proposed. A class of professional popular lecturers sprang up by the 1850s, but science was becoming more the domain of the specialist. Then, according to C.M. Heward, lecturing again acquired a more serious purpose in providing systematic instruction in science.⁶

A number of scholars have seen the elementary evening class work of the institutes and other bodies as preparatory to full participation in the activities of the institutes. J.F.C. Harrison, for example, pointed out the "remedial role" of much Adult Education is making good the deficiencies of earlier education.⁷ This concern is very much to the fore in the work of S. Harrop who argued that classes for working class persons over fourteen were intended to recall, consolidate and reinforce literary skills that were never learned, imperfectly learned in childhood or forgotten through disuse.⁸ M. Sanderson wrote

Since it was impossible to give scientific lectures to illiterate men many institutes concentrated on basic education in reading and writing instead.⁹

Ian Inkster turned this approach around by asking

But what if primary education was the main function of the institutes for many members ...¹⁰

In his preoccupation with science and science lecturing he then forgot his question and did not pursue its implications.

The low rates of literacy in the rapidly growing industrial towns and cities of the North of England are noted by several studies. W.B. Stephens, for example, found that

all the evidence points to the larger towns, northern towns and industrial towns having a smaller percentage of children at day school in 1851 than smaller, southern, market and smaller port towns. There emerges the general picture of, on the one hand, older market towns and the like as centres of superior educational standards set in more backward farming areas, and, on the other hand, of industrial towns, especially in the north and midlands where the standards of education were lower, sometimes much lower, than in neighbouring agricultural districts.¹¹

Thus it is that he can cite the findings of M. Stephenson to the effect that

in Lancashire the provision of part-time education, through Sunday schools, night schools, mechanics' institutes, and factory schools were (sic) a short-term palliative before the growth of the more adequate provision of elementary day schools.¹²

It is thus possible to see the class work of the Mechanics' Institutes in relation to the growth of education in England.

Although T. Kelly related the renewed interest in Mechanics' Institutes in the mid 1830s to the revival of trade, it would be equally possible to relate it, at least in part, to the first education grants in 1833 made through the two national societies. Certainly there were Mechanics' institutes which petitioned Government for aid in setting up schools. Day schools for sons of members appeared at London (1832), Manchester (boys 1834, girls 1835), Liverpool (1837), and Leeds (1845). T. Baker, writing in 1837, argued for making the day school "a general feature in such institutes."¹³ J.W. Hudson, on the other hand, felt constrained to argue against the Institutes "become mere day-schools for boys, instead of intellectual seminaries for men."¹⁴

The evening classes grew apace and many indications suggest that their clientèle was mostly juvenile. M. Tylecote remarks, for example, that at Manchester

*Between 1835 and 1844 about 54 per cent of the ordinary members were under twenty-one and of these 47 per cent were over 14 and 7 per cent under 14 ... It was from this group that the principal support for the classes was drawn."*¹⁵

Birmingham was reported to have 90 pupils in 1835 in classes in writing, grammar, arithmetic, drawing, mathematics, French and Latin.¹⁶ Liverpool in 1840 had 650 pupils in 18 departments under 26 teachers and Hudson credits the institute with having classes for a like number annually for about ten years.¹⁷ At Sheffield there was a "comprehensive plan of education embracing public lectures and classes in Reading, Writing, Drawing, Grammar, Geography, Arithmetic, Mathematics, Latin, French ..." from its foundation in late 1832.¹⁸ In

1836 there were 224 youths in 12 classes. The educational nature of the larger Mechanics' Institutes is manifest.

Classes for elementary education continued to dominate the class work of the Institutes after mid-century. J.P. Hemming remarked that approximately 80 per cent of pupils in the textile district Institutes from 1850 on were engaged in elementary studies prior to the 1870 Education Act. He indicated that "the average classroom attendance was from 38 to 55% of membership" in the Institutes.¹⁹ Harrison cited the Yorkshire Union report for 1853 to the effect that 80 per cent of the 2110 attending classes were receiving instruction in elementary subjects.²⁰ J. Hole, wrote of Leeds in 1860, that "nearly all the evening instruction is elementary."²¹ Near the end of the decade, H.H. Sales' report on Technical Education in Yorkshire "found that the mechanics' institutes were mainly engaged in providing primary education."²² Hemming stated that elementary education persisted as late as 1890 when there were still 47 classes in 21 institutes.²³

Another element that is important in the study of education in England, especially, is the rivalry between the British and Foreign School Society and the National Society of the established Church. The result was a large increase in the provision of more regular schooling and, after 1839, of schooling that had some form of acknowledgment, through Government inspection, of the quality of what was provided. While the National Society quickly outdistanced its rival in the number of schools which it opened and particularly after the first educational grants of

1833, the established Church was slow to begin work among the artisan class.

Several have remarked that this is the strata of society where the evangelical churches recruited their membership and have noted the tendency for these same churches to become more middle class as the century progressed. H. McLeod, for example, wrote

A large-scale analysis of Nonconformist registers of baptisms and burials, mainly from the period 1800-37 ... suggested that artisans were by far the largest occupational group, and that these, together with a small number of labourers and miners, made up about 75 per cent of the Methodists, Baptists and Congregationalists whose occupations were recorded in the registers ... Gilbert concludes that the great expansion of English Nonconformity between 1780 and 1840 was mainly due to recruitment among the working class, though these denominations were becoming more middle class in the mid-nineteenth century.²⁴

There is an analogous tendency in many of the urban Mechanics' Institutes to become middle class by mid-century that leads one to wonder if the remarks of J.W. Hudson about middle class participation²⁵ were related to the persistence within the institutes of some who had experienced a high degree of social mobility.

Yet another element in this story is the provision of classes for women. From about 1840, women were admitted to a number of Mechanics' Institutes on the same basis as youth and apprentices. Jane Purvis in an overview of education for working class women in the nineteenth points out that

At the large northern institutes of Liverpool, Leeds, and Manchester, women's classes became firmly established and females formed about 17% of total membership ... In some of the smaller, northern institutes the number of women varied considerably.²⁶

Hemming remarked that, although females averaged 10% of the membership of Yorkshire and Lancashire from 1850 to 1900, "the proportion was much higher" for the classes, which offered an education "of the home economics variety." Nevertheless,

... it was in their non-academic, supportive function at fund-raising bazaars, tea-parties, soirées and entertainments, that the institute ladies' contribution to the movement proved invaluable.²⁷

The evening classes of the Mechanics' Institutes may have been seen, in part at least, as contributing to the criticism of the monitorial system and ungraded, undifferentiated classrooms. Certainly, this was so for Charles Baker

... the classes of well-conducted Mechanics' Institution are very superior in the advantages they confer, to the numerous evening schools in towns, conducted on the old system of teaching ... Not only are the students divided into elementary schools for writing, grammar, arithmetic, mathematics, drawing, geography, chemistry, languages, etc.; not only are there separate masters of each of these departments ... Thus a concentration, a unity, is given to each subject of study; each being taught by different masters, or by the same master at different hours or places.²⁸

It was also true for J.W. Hudson who wrote

The formation of this department was an immense improvement upon the old 'night schools,' which were generally conducted by one master, who was surrounded by his pupils, engaged in dissimilar tasks at the same time ... The regulations of a Mechanics' Institute on the other hand, are definite. The studies are undertaken at fixed periods, and one subject alone entertained at a time, with the exception of

*mathematics, which, as an advanced study of arithmetic, and generally attended by few pupils, is carried on in the Arithmetic Class; and in the Drawing Classes, where the practice of architectural, geometrical, and mechanical drawing, is pursued by the pupils side by side.*²⁹

The provision of extended schooling in the Mechanics' Institutes varied greatly and may have been related to other available provision in both day schools and in evening classes. Certainly, as noted above, the percentage of pupils engaged in such studies was limited to less than twenty per cent. The examination scheme of the Society of Arts begun in 1856 assisted in the growth of such classes. The first examination papers in mathematics, mechanics, chemistry, botany, drawing, physiology, geography, agriculture, English history, English literature, Latin, French, German and bookkeeping may have reflected the range of subjects offered in the Institutes.³⁰

In 1859 the Department of Science and Art began to award grants for teaching in mathematics, physics, geology and natural history. This was the beginning of what were called Science schools which grew in number from nine schools with 799 pupils in 1860 to 200 schools with 34,283 pupils in 1870. The Select Committee on Technical Instruction found in 1868 that 143 of 514 such schools were conducting evening classes in Mechanics' Institutes, and were mainly located in London and the industrial regions of Lanchashire, West Riding, Cornwall and Birmingham.³¹

With the exception of the Drawing classes the growth of this extended education is not relevant to the Institutes in Montreal and will not be followed. As mentioned in the previous chapter, the Government approached the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge in 1834 with a proposal to set up Schools of Design. This approach was dropped and a Parliamentary Committee recommended that a Central Normal School be established at London. In 1841 the Government moved to establish Schools of Design in the manufacturing areas. By 1851 there were 17 such schools and after the founding of the Department of Science and Art the number of schools grew to 91 in 1862 and 103 in 1868.³² These schools were established independently of the Mechanics' Institute movement.

The Mechanics' Institutes had Drawing classes before the Government initiatives and their efforts continued to rival the Government foundations. Charles Baker, writing in 1837, mentioned classes at London, Liverpool, Manchester, Bolton, Birmingham, Coventry, Sheffield and Glasgow and cited a House of Commons report of the previous year that "the more matured Mechanics' Institutions have disseminated much valuable instruction in the arts."³³ James Hole, writing in 1853, argued that the Institutes should be included in the Government scheme elaborated by Henry Cole at the Department.³⁴ Hemming remarked that

Drawing classes, particularly of the architectural and mechanical variety, rapidly became a feature in the textile district institutes despite the government's policy of concentrating art education in a handful of Schools of Design.³⁵

Some of these classes later developed into Schools of Art under Government aegis. Such was the case of the classes at Warrington, which in 1857 became a School of Art independent of the Mechanics' Institute where they began.³⁶

Those, who after mid-century supported an emphasis on Industrial education in the Institutes, were often critical of the teaching approach used by the Government. Hudson, for example, wrote

*The Government Schools have hitherto required all students to begin with copying, and such has been the general disappointment to the pupils at finding themselves month after month at the same task, that they left the schools in disappointment, if not disgust.*³⁷

Once again he is critical of prevailing pedagogical practices.

It remains only to mention that railway excursions and Mechanics' Festivals date from the mid 1830s. Hudson mentions that the Manchester Institute went by rail to Liverpool in 1833-34.³⁸ This predates the York Institute excursion of July 1839, to which Kusamitsu assigned the honors of being first.³⁹ Thomas Cook began running excursion trains in July 1841 and by mid-century they were a familiar aspect of life for the artisan class.⁴⁰ Similarly, Louth held a Festival or Exhibition in 1835, and Bristol followed in 1836. The better known Manchester exhibition of December 1837 may indeed have been responsible for the spread of such festivals but it was not first.⁴¹ A listing of such festivals prior to 1850 would yield at least one hundred.

Notes to Chapter Four

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2. M. Tylecote, The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire before 1851, p. 29.
3. R. Johnson, 'Really Useful Knowledge': radical education and working-class culture, 1790-1848.
4. C.M. Heward, Industry, cleanliness and godliness: sources for and problems in the history of scientific and technical education and the working classes, 1850-1910, p. 94.
5. I. Inkster, The Public Lecture as an Instrument of Science Education for Adults - the Case of Great Britain, c. 1750-1850, and The Social Context of an Educational Movement: A Revisionist Approach to the English Mechanics' Institutes, 1820-1850.
6. C.M. Heward, op. cit., p. 96.
7. J.F.C. Harrison, Learning and Living 1790-1960, p. 42.
8. S. Harrop, Adult Education and literacy: The importance of post-school education for literacy levels in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.
9. M. Sanderson, Education, Economic Change and Society in England 1780-1870, p. 28.
10. I. Inkster, The Social Context of an Educational Movement, p. 278.
11. W.B. Stephens, Illiteracy and Schooling in Provincial Towns, 1640-1870: A Comparative Approach, pp. 43, 46.
12. Idem., Regional Variations in Education in Industrial Lancashire during the Industrial Revolution, 1780-1870, p. 11. The reference is to M. Sanderson, Social Change and Elementary Education in Industrial Lancashire, 1780-1840.

13. C. Baker, **Mechanics' Institutions and Libraries**, p. 239.
14. J.W. Hudson, **The History of Adult Education**, p. ix.
15. M. Tylecote, **op. cit.** p. 140 n. 2.
16. J.W. Hudson, **op. cit.**, p. 62.
17. **Ibid.**, p. 97.
18. J. Salt, **The Creation of the Sheffield Mechanics' Institute**, p. 147.
19. J.P. Hemming, **The Mechanics' Institutes of Lancashire and Yorkshire Textile Districts from 1850**, p. 20.
20. J.F.C. Harrison, **op. cit.**, p. 130n.
21. J. Hole, **Light. More Light!**, p. 40.
22. Cited J.F.C. Harrison, **op. cit.**, p. 215.
23. J.P. Hemming, **op. cit.**, p. 22.
24. H. McLeod, **Religion and the Working Class in Nineteenth Century Britain**, p. 14.
25. J.W. Hudson, **op. cit.**, p. viii.
26. J. Purvis, **Working-Class Women and Adult Education in Nineteenth Century Britain**, p. 199.
27. J.P. Hemming, **op. cit.**, p. 23.
28. C. Baker, **op. cit.**, p. 227.
29. J.W. Hudson, **op. cit.**, p. 58.
30. The list of subjects is taken from T. Kelly, **George Birkbeck: Pioneer of**

Adult Education, p. 273.

31. W.H.G. Armytage, Some sources for the history of technical education in England, 6 (1957) p. 66.
32. W.B. Stephens, The Victorian Art Schools and Technical Education: A Case Study, 1850-1889, p. 16.
33. C. Baker, op. cit., p. 244.
34. J. Hole, An Essay on the History and Management of Literacy, 'Scientific, and Mechanics' Institutions, p. 98.
35. J.P. Hemming, op. cit., p. 21.
36. W.B. Stephens, art. cit., p. 14.
37. J.W. Hudson, op. cit., p. 207.
38. Ibid., p. 128.
39. T. Kusamitsu, Great Exhibitions before 1851, p. 82.
40. H. Cunningham, Leisure in the Industrial Revolution c. 1780-1880, p. 157f.
41. T. Kusamitsu, op. cit., p. 70. For the exhibitions at Louth and Bristol voir T. Kelly, op. cit., (1957) p. 237.

Chapter Five: The Montreal Mechanics' Institute

In this chapter I will consider the Montreal Mechanics' Institute which was founded in November 1828 and had a troubled history in the early 1830s until it became dormant in April 1835. I will outline the history of the Institute and discuss the conflicts which caused it to cease its activity not once but twice in the period from 1828 to 1835. Then I will examine its purpose and indicate how its statement of aims compares with other institutions which proposed similar educational ends. Following this I will describe the educational context of the period and essay to place the Mechanics' Institute within this particular setting. Next, I will outline the activities of the Institute and their relationship to the stated aims. In the succeeding section, I will set out what can be known of the membership of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute between 1828 and 1835. I will endeavor to determine who were the Institute's promoters, who were its active members and what the Institute's purpose meant to them. Finally, I will give an appreciation of the educational endeavor of the Institute.

A. History of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute

Phase One: 1828-1831 Beginnings

The context for the beginning of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute is a complex web of rivalries and alliances. The Church of England's attempt to exercise leadership and dominance in education and state in the Canadas was contested. In England, the year 1828 had seen the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts. Bishop C.J. Stewart, perhaps uncertain of the ability of the Church of England to maintain its hold on

the Royal Institution, had opened Parish Schools in the Montreal and Chambly using evangelical clergy. The same year Governor Dalhousie's arbitrariness had been the subject of protest by provincial politicians, who carried an 80,000 name petition to Britain and testified before the House of Commons Committee on the Government of the Canadas. Dalhousie was replaced on September 9 by Sir James Kempt, who broke the stalemate in provincial politics in November by accepting the nomination of L.-J. Papineau as Speaker of the House of Assembly and the passage of a one year supply bill.

November 21, 1828 a group of men met in Rev. Henry Esson's house to discuss the formation of a Mechanics' Institute. There were already about one hundred such institutes in Great Britain. A Committee was appointed to draw up a Constitution and Laws for the Government of the Institution. These were ready and discussed the following week in a public meeting held in the Montreal Academical Institution. At a General Meeting held December 2, these were adopted and the Institute was under way in Esson's Schoolroom. After a short period from April 21 in unspecified rooms, the Institute on July 28, 1829 accepted the proposal of James Huddell for two large rooms above the Post Office and a large room on the first floor together with his services for £20 per year.

It would seem almost impossible to divorce the Institute from the political, religious and educational context of Montreal and the province. The Rev. Henry Esson, minister of St. Gabriel Street Church, was in the

forefront of efforts to have the right of the Church of Scotland as an established church recognized. On Friday December 12, 1828, Church of Scotland members met at a public dinner for J.C. Grant, the lawyer who had carried their cause to the House of Commons Committee in Britain. A little over a month later, January 27, 1829, Esson appeared before the House of Assembly Committee on Education to argue that the Church of Scotland should have a larger role in the affairs of the Royal Institution for the advancement of Learning. The House of Assembly shelved the attempt to set up a more inclusive form of the Institution and passed an Act to encourage elementary education in the countryside under the control of local trustees. The Mechanics' Institute immediately set out to establish "the course of education prescribed in the appendix to the constitution." The Royal Institution felt compelled to reply to Sir James Kempt Apr. 23, 1829 about certain allegations against it. Subsequently, the Church of Scotland clergy in Montreal were appointed Visitors of the Royal Institution and it was apparently in this capacity that Esson and Black attended the ceremony of taking possession of Burnside in June 1829.

Governor Kempt, who accepted the post of Patron of the Institute, was appointed Governor of the province to promote harmony. In Nova Scotia he had established "an era of good feelings" even though he had been unable to overcome the denominational rivalries and unify higher education institutions in the province.¹ Some of the English Party in Quebec found it prudent to cooperate with the Governor in his endeavors. Hence in June 1829 he was able to fuse the elite Literary

and Historical Society of Quebec and the more popular *Société pour l'encouragement des sciences et des arts au Canada*.² The results were perhaps not what was anticipated because French-Canadian participation declined. Nor was participation of French-Canadians in the Montreal-based Natural History Society and Mechanics' Institute very strong. In both of these latter institutions, however, it was during the period that Kempt was Governor that most of their French-Canadian members enrolled.

The Mechanics' Institute had barely terminated the first half year of existence when it was subject to two internal conflicts. The first, which cannot now be reconstructed, will be mentioned later but consisted of a constitutional challenge to the Management Committee that may have involved the subjects to be discussed at meetings and the setting up of classes. The second, was a dispute over the dilatoriness of a brash young lawyer, Aaron Philip Hart, a former student of Esson. He took umbrage at the suggestion that he produce the paper which he had promised on the Discovery and Progress of Architecture. He apparently departed the Institute.

Far more serious in its repercussions on the Mechanics' Institute was the dispute within St. Gabriel Street Church. The Governorship of the Earl of Dalhousie had been a time of discord, for while he encouraged the Church of Scotland efforts to make its claim to co-establishment with the Church of England, he also was an active proponent of the evangelical wing of the former Church. The divisiveness of his policies

and his favoritism had an impact on Montreal cultural scene. There had been difficulties in 1824-1825 that may be linked to Dalhousie's favoritism. The Natural History Society almost split in May 1828 over the presentation of an Address to Dalhousie.³ The political ramifications of this led the members who opposed the Governor to retire to the sidelines. At the same time the Montreal Library appears to have fallen into the hands of those who espoused a pro-British stance.

Within the St. Gabriel Street congregation two factions had formed, the one behind Henry Esson and the other behind Edward Black, his assistant. While contending that the Church of Scotland should be co-established with the Church of England on the basis of the Union between Scotland and England, Esson, a moderate in theology, was disposed to cooperate with other Churches, including the Roman Catholic. Esson and his followers appear to have followed a policy of collaboration between the two language groups, indeed many of them had French-Canadian partners. Politically the Esson group would appear to have been moderate reformers aligned to the Popular Party. Black, on the other hand, was theologically an evangelical, and his supporters, as well as other Esson opponents, were for the most part adherents of the English Party.

This explosive mix of religion and politics was fed in late 1829 by rumors that Esson was guilty of sexual indiscretions and drunkenness. The majority of the Kirk Session attempted to try Esson on these

charges. Esson, however, retained the support of the Temporal Committee. A Congregational meeting was called for January 25, 1830 to hear Esson's statement of defence. It is against this background that it is possible to see Esson's election as First Vice-President of the Mechanics' Institute January 12, 1830 as an expression of confidence. Subsequently, the Congregational meeting, presided by the Honourable L. Gogy, declared him vindicated and refused to hear the Kirk Session report. In April Esson's followers dominated the newly elected Temporal Committee and in February of the following year denied Black's followers the purchase of pews on sale.

At the Half Yearly General Meeting held July 13, 1830 one of the Esson's opponents, John Whitelaw was elected to the Management Committee of the Institute. However, at the same time Dr. Robert Nelson, who led opposition to the McGill Medical School's powers, offered to lecture on Chemistry to the Institute. It was reported that there were 140 Ordinary Members and Alexander Stevenson was thanked for arranging the mineral cabinet. It may be noted that the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec opened its Library and Museum in this same year. In addition, Dr. Joseph Skey was conducting a class in Natural History and had circulated an address within the province inviting individuals to forward information and specimens to the Society.

In late December 1830 the Canadian Courant and Irish Vindicator printed the arrangements and bylaws for a Mechanics' Institute in Quebec. The

and mechanics in support of the new Institute.⁴ It would appear from what can be known of the Institute at Quebec that it was in the hands of members of the Popular party with a sprinkling of both English party adherents and more radical members among its membership. The Montreal Mechanics' Institute may have been somewhat similar in composition at the beginning.

The Second Anniversary Meeting was held January 26, 1831. The name of Henry Esson does not appear in the list of those elected. Instead one finds that Whitelaw had been joined on the Management Committee by James Carswell, Henry Johnson, who joined January 26, 1830, Peter McGill and Benjamin Workman, all of whom were opponents of Esson in the St. Gabriel affair. Workman offered a course of lectures on Geometry and its applications to mechanics.⁵ In this might be seen an attempt by the English party to dominate another of the cultural institutions of Montreal as they did in the Natural History Society and the Montreal Library. Certainly the struggle which took place that Spring led to the cessation of activities.⁶

Meanwhile, James Leslie, Popular party member for Montreal East and an Esson supporter and long-time friend, presented a petition from the Montreal Mechanics' Institute to the House of Assembly February 4, 1831.⁷ John Neilson, another Popular party member for Quebec, presented the petition of the Quebec Mechanics' Institute February 9, 1831.⁸ After approval by the Standing Committee on Education of the House, a law (1 Wm. iv, ch. 7) was passed and sanctioned March 31,

House, a law (1 Wm. iv, ch. 7) was passed and sanctioned March 31, 1831 granting £100 each to the two Mechanics' Institutes for the purchase of books and instruments.⁹ This may have been the earliest instance of Government assistance to Mechanics' Institutes.

It is important to notice, however, that this was the only grant accorded the Montreal Institute while the Quebec institute continued to apply for and benefit from annual grants in 1832 (£50), 1833 (£50), 1834 (£50), 1836 (petition rejected as were many other institutions), 1838 (£50), 1839 (£50). The Quebec Literary and Historical Society received the same grant as the Quebec Mechanics' Institute through these same years. The Montreal Natural History Society received grants of £50 in 1831 and 1833.¹⁰

The difficulties in the St. Gabriel Street Church came to a head in the Spring of 1831. February 13 and 27 Esson gave notice of intent to ordain as elders Kenneth Walker, draper, William Shand, builder, George Johnston, baker, Archibald MacMillan, retired North-West trader, and Francis Hunter, retired merchant, to replace the five elders who opposed his leadership.¹¹ March 6 the dissident members of Session barricaded the Church doors and it remained closed until March 25, 1832. The elders were arrested at the Church door. The Church windows were shattered by gunfire several days later. The newly formed Synod of the Church of Scotland meeting in Kingston, June 8-13, 1831, ordered the Church opened from June 19, with the two Ministers

preaching alternate Sundays as previously.¹² The Black party refused to comply.

In May 1831 notice was given of the opening of the Commercial Newsroom at 2 St. Nicholas Street. The room was to have more than 120 newspapers on hand. Membership was to be \$4.00 per year or \$2.00 for clerks.¹³ This was a rival to the Exchange Newsroom and may be seen as part of the outcome of the quarrel in the St. Gabriel St. Church.

The political situation also impinged upon the Institute at this point. February 22, 1831 Daniel Tracey was rejected for membership by one ballot. Then April 12 a second ballot was taken and Tracey declared an Ordinary Member. The following week the second ballot was declared null and void because unconstitutional. Tracey was renominated and at the subsequent meeting, April 26, a proposal to postpone voting until Tracey had been contacted to see if he wanted to be a member was defeated and on the ballot Tracey was rejected 17 votes to 5. It is possible that a change in the Constitution effected June 7, that required five members present before voting on new members, relates to this incident.

The meetings held in 1831 were not all noted in the Minute book. There were recorded meetings January 4, 17, February 1, 15, 22, March 1, 22, 29, April 5, 12, 19, 26, May 3, 31, June 7 and July 5. Nevertheless, it appears likely given the Workman lectures that there was no break in

weekly meetings from February 1 to April 19.¹⁴ The break after June 8, however, may be related to the difficulties arising out of the Synod decision about the Church. The last recorded meeting was July 5 but there were not five members present. This meeting coincided with the election of the new Board of Medical Examiners, another event with large political implications in Montreal.¹⁵

Phase Two: November 1831 - March 1832, Attempted Renewal

November 12, 1831 the Canadian Courant contained a notice of the opening of the Halifax Mechanics' Library. Ten days later the Irish Vindicator contained an account of the formation of a New Mechanics' Institute:

A numerous meeting was held, on Sunday last (November 20), for the purpose of forming a New Mechanics' Institute. We are well pleased to see a new institution of this nature rising up, as we believe, that in existence consists of persons of the most illiberal sentiments and totally unworthy of the support and encouragement of the Legislature, from their well known prejudices. Religion and politics, we understand, are mixed up with the objects of the institution, and have occasioned much disgust to many of the members. We are sufficiently advised of what we say on this head, and should application be made for a new aid to its support, we think the House should make some enquiries before the public money be given to foster and encourage the worst species of illiberality. The new institute, we hope, will confine itself to the object for which it shall be established.

The editor, Dr. Daniel Tracey, was not unbiased in that he was the subject of the disputed ballot the previous spring.

The attempted renewal of the Mechanics' Institute was not to last long. Recorded meetings begin December 6, 1831 and continued until

Thursday January 31, 1832. The Management Committee met twice, January 16 or 17, and 23. There were recorded meetings December 6, 13, 20, 1831; January 10, Wed. 18, 24, 31. An attempted meeting March 16 lacked a quorum. Through May and June there were notices in the Canadian Courant for members to pay their subscriptions to the Collector and notice of a Management Committee meeting June 11.

The Management Committee elected at the Third Anniversary Meeting January 24, 1832 contained two known Esson supporters, James Potts and John Gardener, and three opponents, George Gray, William Leys and William Dow. This may indicate that control of the Institute was the subject of dispute between the Esson and Black parties. The Officers were the same as those elected the previous year. That meeting also set up a Constitution Committee comprising: Lewis Betts, Joseph Shand, Robert Cleghorn, Joseph Clark, James Allison, William Holwell, and William Boston.

External religious and political conflict once again played itself out in the Mechanics' Institute. Both Esson and Black began services for their supporters; the Tempora¹ Committee applied for use of the Wesleyan Chapel whose managers attempted to mediate the dispute by requiring each party to use it in turn. After this condition was rejected, the Esson party met in the National School from November 13, 1831 and the Black party in the American Presbyterian church from January 8, 1832.¹⁶ Then on March 6, the recusant elders and others, including James Carswell, Robert Armour Sr., Archibald Hume, Henry Johnson,

William Leys, John Fleming (Bank of Montreal), and Archibald Ferguson (Montreal Herald) were tried for riot in civil court. They were found guilty of forcible detainer of the Church and ordered on March 10 to hand it over to the Temporal Committee, composed of Esson supporters.¹⁷

The Church reopened March 25 and a Synod Commission ruled that two separate congregations should be formed. Esson's followers were to keep the Church and compensate the Black party. These arbitrators reported to Synod August 3, 1832 that the affair had "produced such animosity between the parties as renders their continuance in the same congregation neither desirable nor proper."¹⁸ The Black party did not accept the award until late August when they formed St. Paul's congregation.

This long dispute within the St. Gabriel Street congregation opened the way for the entry of several other denominations in Montreal. In late 1829 and 1830 a group of Baptists met in Bruce's Schoolroom under the leadership of Mr. Denham and in 1830 obtained the services of Reverend John Gilmour under whose ministry a Chapel was opened in September 1831. In late 1831 the Reverend Richard Miles held services in the Mansion House Hotel and opened a Congregational Church in February 1835. About the same time, December 29, 1831 Scottish laymen met in Bruce's schoolroom and began a United Presbyterian (Secession) congregation, that under the Reverend William Taylor was to vie with the St. Paul's congregation for the adherence of artisans.¹⁹

In July 1832 a Unitarian Clergyman began services in the Union schoolhouse and attracted a number of followers before the congregation was broken up by the cholera epidemic of that year.

The political situation experienced the same sort of turmoil and dissonance. In mid January 1832 the two editors, Ludger Duvernay and Dr. Daniel Tracey, were jailed for slander against the Legislative Council. Freedom of the press rallies followed and at the end of the Parliamentary session they returned in triumph in Montreal. The actions of the more radical members of the Parti patriote in proposing the Fabrique Act and refusing a Civil List led the moderate Reform members to take a more conservative stance. Hughes Heney, member for Montreal East, resigned February 28, 1832 and John Fisher, member for Montreal West, resigned March 26, 1832. After the withdrawal of Thomas Phillips, the moderates and the English party coalesced around the American-born Stanley Bagg, in opposition to the radical editor Tracey, in the notorious Montreal West by-election that the latter won.²⁰ In the ensuing riot three French-Canadians were shot by the troops. The outbreak of cholera in the summer of 1832 further strained relations between the House of Assembly and the executive.

Phase Three: 1832-1835, Picking up the Pieces.

Wednesday, August 15, 1832, a letter in the Canadian Courant proposed the establishment of a Philomathic Society, or debating club, "for the diffusion of knowledge." The Society began Thursday, September 27 "in the house adjoining the Post Office (Mechanics' Institution)."²¹ The topics on literary and current issues were published in the newspaper.²²

James King was the Society's Secretary, but the other members are unknown. The Society appears to have held weekly meetings until at least February 1834. On several occasions the rooms are actually attributed to the Society rather than the Mechanics' Institute.²³

On Friday September 21, 1832, the Mechanic's Institute recorded a Special meeting chaired by the Honourable Louis Guly for the purpose of awarding \$30.00 to John Pigott of Three Rivers for a model of improvements to steamboats. The recorded attendance was nine members in all: Guly, William Boston, Alexander Stevenson, Samuel Hudson, William Betts, James Cooper, John Whitelaw, James Poet, and James Huddell. Cooper, Poet and Whitelaw do not appear to have been active during the second phase of the Institute's history. Poet was a member of the Secession Church and Whitelaw was a Black supporter, who had been denied a pew in St. Gabriel Street Church in February, 1831. Now the moderate reformers and the English party had drawn closer and the Black party had recently established St. Paul's Church. Thus it appears that this meeting may have been calculated to help heal the rift in the Institute.

The summer of 1832 saw a number of events which affected the Montreal English-speaking community. Cholera claimed its victims, among them Henry McKenzie and John Fleming, ardent opponents of Esson, Daniel Tracey, the newly elected representative of Montreal West, David Hughes, Unitarian Minister and William Robertson, Secession Minister. The Natural History Society did not meet during

the four months June to September but resumed its meetings October 29. The Whigs had been returned in the election in England and the Reform Bill, which occupied so much space in Montreal newspapers, passed into law.

The Fourth Anniversary Meeting was held January 15, 1833. At that time John Redpath, affluent contractor who was active in St. Paul's Church, was elected First Vice-President, Jules Quesnel, a moderate, Second Vice-President, Joseph Clarke and Henry Corse, two other affluent artisans, Third and Fourth Vice-Presidents respectively. There were three former Esson opponents and Esson himself elected to the Management Committee. The new Constitution and Laws were carried the meeting of February 26, 1833. Thus it appears that the healing process may have been complete. Force may be lent to this interpretation by the fact that the Commercial Newsroom, founded in May 1831 in opposition to the Exchange Newsroom, amalgamated with the latter in early 1833.²⁴

Recorded weekly meetings of the Institute resumed from the Anniversary date and the usual activities were held, including a series of lectures on Mechanics offered by Skakel to permit the Institute to purchase apparatus. The Institute met until June 4 when it was resolved to meet once a month until the second week in November.

When meetings resumed in November 1833 the proposal of a school for the sons and apprentices of members was to the fore once more. This development will be examined in a later section.

The Fifth Anniversary Meeting was held January 14, 1834 and Esson, who chaired it, was elected Second Vice-President, and John Redpath became Fourth Vice-President. There were lecturers on Political Economy and Chemistry.

Weekly meetings continued until April 8, 1834. At this last meeting the Institute, which was seeking other accommodation, notified the Schoolmaster Durie to discontinue the school "due to building repairs and alterations." The only premises available would cost £50 a year on a seven year lease but the Institute only wanted to pay £20 (the amount of subscriptions to be received from members?). They had received an offer from James King, Ste. Anne suburb, to act as Teacher, Secretary, Librarian and Museum Keeper.

The year 1834 was replete with political maneuvering. Lord Aylmer misinterpreted the rift within the Patriote party and refused all legislation from the House of Assembly. The Assembly in turn passed the 92 Resolutions of grievance and called for the Governor's recall. The ensuing election in November 1834 saw the defeat of those who opposed the resolutions and consolidated the radicals' grip on the Patriote party. Ethnic sensibilities were raised and numerous national societies were founded: Aide-toi, le ciel t'aidera, March 8, 1834; St.

Patrick's Society, March 17, 1834; Société St. Jean Baptiste, June 24, 1834; St. Andrew's Society, December 1, 1834; St. George's Society, December 19, 1834; and the German-Canadian Society. Working-class unions were particularly active in the Spring of 1834 and the St. Jean Baptiste Society made a toast to the workers at its first dinner:

*The Artisans and working classes of Montreal and of the country in general. May education continue to spread among these useful members of society, and may they procure the happiness and comfort their labours deserve.*²⁵

The Mechanics' Institute met December 30, 1834. At that meeting it elected John White Treasurer to replace William Boston, who had died. It deferred reopening the school and voted to remain in the same premises until May 1 and seek suitable rooms. Mr. Arthur Ross wrote about the rent due to him and the Institute sought the remainder of its 1831 legislative grant, which was held by Gugy, to pay him. We may have a glimpse of the Institute's situation in the words of Andrew Porteous, Postmaster, who wrote the Deputy Postmaster General about "the insufficiency and the unsafe state of the Present Post Office." The substance of his report indicated that there was

*a tailor shop and dry-goods store below it, a printing-office on one side, and a boarding-house on the other. ...to reach him the public had to climb an unlit flight of stairs and then make their way across a small lobby half-filled with firewood.*²⁶

It is possible that the boarding house was Huddell's, the quarters of the Mechanics' Institute.

Meetings were held February 10, 24, March 3, 10, 17, 24 and April 7. Application was made to the Honourable Louis Bugey for the £25 balance of the 1831 grant in order to pay the rent. The Sixth Anniversary meeting had to be postponed from March 10 to March 24 due to lack of attendance. Nevertheless the members on a split vote decided to insure the Institute's property for a year. At the Anniversary Meeting a School Committee was established to open an elementary school and another Committee was to call on Reverend William Taylor for lectures on astronomy. The last recorded action April 7 was to add "s" to the letterplate after the word Mechanic.

The times were not propitious for further meetings as both sides geared up in the contest which ended in the Rebellions of 1837. Committees of Correspondence and Constitutional Associations were active from late 1834. The House of Assembly met from late February to March 18, 1835 when it was prorogued by Lord Aylmer. The excitement of the times may well explain the postponement of the Mechanics' Institute Annual Meeting and the concern over insuring the property. The Officers who were elected March 24 are said to have preserved the assets.

Bosworth writing in 1838 stated

An interruption of its meetings occurred about three years since, and was followed by the two winters of insurrection, which effectually precluded all other topics than those related to self-defence ... Apparatus and books, to the value of the one hundred and fifty pounds, remain, ready for use in the care of its officers.²⁷

The Montreal Transcript editor's account of the first meeting of the new institute refers to the former one

*that (Institute) which was once in existence here having first languished, and ultimately been altogether unfrequented.*²⁸

Thus ended the Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

B. Educational Purpose of The Montreal Mechanics Institute

The opening page of the Minute Book of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute states,

(Its) object shall be to instruct the members in the principles of the Arts and in the various branches of Science and useful knowledge and the means of obtaining this object shall be
1st the Voluntary Association of Mechanics and others and the payment of a small sum annually or half yearly by each
2nd Donations of Money - books - Specimens - Implements, Models, Apparatus
3rdly A Library of reference and a Reading Room
4thly A Museum of Machines and Models - Minerals and Natural History
5thly An Academy or School for teaching Arithmetic - Algebra, Geometry and Trigonometry and their different applications particularly to Perspective, Architecture, Mensuration and Navigation to which may be added Ancient and Modern Languages
6thly Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy, Practical Mechanics, Astronomy, Chemistry, Civil History, Political economy, Philosophy of the human mind, Literature and the Arts
7thly An Experimental Workshop and Laboratory

The First Annual Report of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute states that its constitution had been written "adopting in a great measure a compilation from the constitutions of similar associations in Great

Britain." Since Thomas Kelly has printed the preamble to the revised Rules and Orders which gives the object of the London Mechanics' Institute, ²⁹ it is possible to compare the two. In its statement of purpose the Montreal Institute differs in several details from that of the London Institute. (1) Whether or not it has significance, the Montreal statement uses the verb "to instruct" rather than the noun "instruction" and leaves out after the Arts the words "they practise" which may link the London statement more closely to a vision of vocationally-related education. It should be noted, however, that in both cases mention of the Arts, the various branches of Science and useful knowledge would suggest an educational program of encyclopedic nature for tradesmen rather than strictly vocational education. (2) The fees were to be paid annually or half-yearly rather than by the year or the quarter. This may suggest that the members were able to afford the costs of membership relatively easily. (3) Although the Montreal Institute did not mention a circulating library in article three, books circulated from an early date and this oversight was corrected in the 1833 Constitution. (4) Article five relating to an Academy or School precedes that on lectures in the Montreal statement. In addition, the list of subjects envisioned for the school is longer in the Montreal statement because of the addition of the words "to which may be added Ancient and Modern Languages." This suggests that members of the Montreal Institute at its inception were thinking more along the lines of the Classical or Grammar school than a vocationally-related education. The 1833 Constitution would change these words to read "to which may be added the elements of English Grammar and Drawing." This too relates more closely to

contemporary extensions of education beyond the elementary level and even to some of the rising expectations with regard to the content of elementary education itself rather than to vocationally-related studies. It may be noted that the 1833 Constitution reverts to the idea of elementary schools rather than a single academy or school, an idea that Thomas Kelly felt obliged to gloss in the London statement with the note "i.e. for adults." (5) Finally, it should be pointed out that the original Montreal statement includes as lecture subjects "Civil history, Political economy, Philosophy of the human mind." In other words, the lectures also were encyclopedic in nature rather than science-centered. The 1833 Constitution brought the Montreal aims more into line with that of London by omitting these subjects.

It is also possible to compare the aims of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute with those proposed for the Quebec Mechanics' Institute in late 1830. The first proposal for Quebec was a Mechanics' Library. Perhaps this early vision together with a different target clientèle and a lower literacy rate among Quebec artisans³⁰ colored the thinking of those who wrote the petition to the House of Assembly. The objects of the institute as outlined there were:

to encourage a taste for reading, and to facilitate the indulgence of that taste, and the acquisition of knowledge among the working Mechanics residing in the City and neighborhood of Quebec

1. By the establishment of the Library peculiarly adopted to the wants of the Members of the Society, and to which every Member shall have ready access, with the right of carrying home and retaining for a certain time, such books as may require a diligent and repeated perusal, of the most generally useful, of which it is the wish of the Society to provide several copies.

2. *By forming a collection of Models and Apparatus, adapted to illustrate the doctrines of those sciences most immediately useful to those for whose improvement and benefit the Society was formed.*

3. *By the establishment of elementary Lectures on subjects intimately connected with their pursuits and occupations and by encouraging evening Meetings of the Members at the Rooms of the Society, and thereby affording them the opportunity of adding to the common stock, the information that they may individually have acquired by previous reading or experience, of acquiring a facility in speaking of and describing the subjects of their studies, and of passing agreeably and usefully those hours of relaxation, which might otherwise be less profitably employed.*³¹

It would, however, be an oversight to make the comparison of educational purpose only with other Mechanics' Institutes. There were also a number of other related institutions within Montreal which had stated educational aims, although they were not always realized. One might begin with the Montreal Library which in its 1819 act of incorporation gave as its purpose "to encourage instruction and to disseminate sciences." To achieve this end the Library was authorized to open a reading room and a natural history museum.³²

Next in point of time was the Montreal Medical Institution which was established to instruct medical students by means of lectures as a complement to their normal period of apprenticeship. After a gestation period of nearly a year it opened its doors in November 1823. Prior to that time, in August 1823, the staff resolved to add a library to the institution that would be available to staff, students and local medical practitioners.³³ In the same period Montreal lawyers were to reverse this process, founding the Advocate's Library in February 1828 to

assist research in jurisprudence and making it a teaching center in 1830 under the title Advocate's Library and Law Institute of Montreal. Nevertheless, the lawyers involved resisted Chief Justice Reid's suggestion that they define conditions for entry to the study of law and the courses to be followed during the period of clericulture (or apprenticeship) noting that they were only a fraction (and perhaps also a faction) of the legal profession.³⁴

Perhaps more pertinent in this connection is the Montreal Natural History Society. Founded May 12, 1827, in Reverend Henry Esson's house the twenty-six original members soon became about one hundred. The society saw itself as a place "to promote the advancement of the Sciences, by bringing together the means by which scientific attainments may be acquired." To this end it proposed to establish a library and museum and to hold series of lectures. Shortly after the founding of the Mechanics' Institute there was an exchange of letters between it and the society in which W. Boston, J. Clarke and G. Holman accepted the invitation of the Natural History Society to its lecture series the following winter in these terms:

assure your society that nothing shall be wanting on their part whenever it may be in their power to reciprocate such kindness and at all times carefully to cultivate that friendly intercourse so desirable and so necessary to be kept up between establishments having but one and the same general object in view; the chasing away the darkness of ignorance, by smoothing the rugged paths that lead to knowledge and the removal of some of the obstructions to higher attainment in science as well as to greater perfection in the practice of the Arts.

The Mechanics' Institute offered the use of its property to the Society and hoped that it in turn would have the use of the instruments purchased for the institute's lectures and indicated that its members would be "more likely to attend if they knew that this would be the case."³⁵ In the first annual report the Institute cites its "friendly intercourse with the Natural History Society of Montreal."

Similar institutions which were established in the 1840s saw their mission in educational terms. One might point to the Mercantile Library Association, founded November 27, 1840, an institute which was not unique to Montreal. In its Rules and Regulations, printed in 1855, one may read:

The object of the Association shall be to afford its Members, and more especially to its Clerk Members, facilities for improvement in the various branches of Literary and Mercantile Education.

Similarly the Preface to this document states that the association was established

for the purpose of forming a Library and Reading Room, and for organizing a system of instruction, by means of Lectures and Classes, for the use and benefit of the members of the said Association, and of such Mercantile Clerks and others as may hereafter become members.

The library is seen as a center around which various activities of an educational nature take form and become "a system of instruction." One may note that this embraces "the various branches of Literary" as well as Mercantile education and that in this instance, as with the Mechanics' Institute, the education available is not limited by vocational concerns.

This was equally true of the Institut Canadien. Founded in December 1844 with about two hundred members, the Montreal Institut in time absorbed the philosophical society known as *La société des amis* which had appeared a month earlier. The latter set forth its purpose as mutual instruction and the promotion of literature and science. To that end it divided into four sections: Literature and the Fine Arts; Law and Jurisprudence; Medicine; and Political Economy. Its successor, the Institut Canadien has been described as part of a cultural movement which spawned numerous similar institutions under several titles. It continued with the same mission as its earlier rival. L. Lamonde, for example, suggests that it should be seen as "a mutual instruction society," with such diverse activities as public lectures, member's essays, weekly discussions, a library, newsroom and museum.³⁶ Accordingly,

les activités furent des "media" de communication: elles furent des "contenants" culturels dont l'histoire importe autant que celle de leurs contenus

It was Susan Mann Robertson (Trofimenkoff), however, who argued that "the Montreal Institut Canadien was fundamentally educational in its aims."³⁷

Education was the leit-motif of all the activity of the Institut Canadien

She cites the 1853 Act of Incorporation which gives as the aim of the Institut that

of procuring for its members and of generally extending instruction in the various branches of the sciences, arts and useful knowledge which are necessary and advantageous in the different positions of life

She concludes that

*Its educational aim was one of mutual instruction and general progress.
It shared the ideals "of mutual self-help, with an emphasis on work,
sacrifice, duty, progress and the perfectibility of man and society"
which were prominent in the English middle classes*

That which distinguished the Montreal Institute from the Mechanics' Institutes, according to Robertson, was its membership which was drawn largely from "Montreal's social and intellectual 'elite'." Its clash with ecclesiastical authorities was over the Church's claim to control education and to require that it have a religious basis.

Nor should one ignore the fact that such institutions continued to see themselves as having an educational purpose. This was apparent in the preamble and contents of lectures given before such institutes well into the second half of the century. For example, Thomas C. Keefer, Civil Engineer, justified his addresses on what might be called economic geography treating "Montreal" and "The Ottawa" by asking rhetorically "What more profitable subject can the Mechanics of this City discuss, than the causes which favor or threaten the prosperity of Montreal."³⁸ Similarly, the Drummond Mechanics' Institute gave as its motive for renting the first floor of its building to a school from 1859 to 1869 that it was "desirous of promoting the course of education."³⁹

This educational mission, however, was modified by the changing educational context and emerging industrialization of the late 1840s and 1850s. The educational content became more specialized and less a part of the encyclopedic type of culture promoted earlier. There was a recognition of the educational provision already supplied and the

changed requirements of those who were members of these organizations. Thus, the Reverend A.C.G. Desmazures in addressing the Institute des Artisans, presided by Napoleon Bourassa in 1870, on the architecture and design of various churches, said:

*Vous avez fondé cette Société pour répandre l'étude des Beaux Arts parmi les Ouvriers. C'est ainsi que vous les rendez dignes de ce titre si noble d'Artisans, qui veut dire Artistes de l'Industrie*⁴⁰

Similarly, in describing the purpose of the Cabinet de Lecture paroissial J.B. Meilleur wrote:

*les nombreux élèves, formés déjà dans les arts et dans les sciences, ont besoin, au sortir de leurs cours d'études, d'un lieu commun de conversation, ouvert et accessible à tous, pour s'instruire et mieux se former mutuellement, dans l'art oratoire ...*⁴¹

It can be seen that there was a panoply of institutions with educational aims. It is my contention that the educational nature of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute should be taken into account and that it should be placed within the context of educational development within the first three quarters of the nineteenth century.

C. The Educational Context for the Montreal Mechanics' Institute

There were several trends in education both in Montreal and in the province that might provide motivation for the master artisans and small tradesmen to establish an institute for mutual instruction and for the schooling of their sons and apprentices. It must be remembered throughout the discussion which follows that schooling was highly disputed territory in Montreal and elsewhere in the province during the period 1815 to 1840. The provision of education both created and

reflected tensions between as well as within the various Christian denominations. It also pitted the adherents of Church-controlled education against the proponents of non-denominational and possibly state-directed education. The schools that appeared were in many instances class-directed, that is, intended for a particular stratum of the population. Although the gifted pupil could find opportunity to develop his abilities and extend his knowledge, in some quarters those opportunities were carefully guarded and strictly controlled.⁴² I will highlight some of the trends in the provision of schooling without detailing all of the tensions which existed.

The first trend that should be noted is the increasing availability in Montreal and suburbs of low cost or free education for the lower classes. The Sulpicians opened parish schools to supplement the main school opposite the Seminary as the need appeared: St. Lawrence suburb 1795; Bonsecours Church 1810; a second school in St. Lawrence suburb 1815; St. Antoine suburb 1818; Quebec suburb 1819; the Recollet Convent 1819; a second school in Quebec suburb 1828; and St. Joseph suburb 1828. With the exception of the school opposite the Seminary and the "petites écoles" in connection with the Petit Séminaire, these schools were mixed and often had English as well as French classes.⁴³ The Dames de la Congrégation de Notre-Dame operated a boarding school and day school for girls in the old city and then took charge of the girls' classes in Quebec and St. Lawrence suburbs on behalf of the Sulpicians in 1833.

The Sulpician effort was extended by other Roman Catholic schools. The contest of wills between Bishop Lartigue and the Sulpicians over their independence from or submission to the bishop's authority led to the founding of Ecole St. Jacques in 1825. The increasing numbers of Irish immigrants arriving in Montreal prompted the establishment in 1829 of an educational society, specifically aimed at their needs, which may have been largely inspired by the Lancastrian school societies. This society took over the school previously operated by the Sulpicians at the Recollet Church. In 1835 another society, the Société des Dames de Charité, opened a school for orphan boys. All of these schools increased the educational provision for the lower classes.

Nor were such efforts confined to the Roman Catholic community, which may in fact have reacted to initiatives and activities within the English-speaking Protestant community. The Church of England National school, founded in 1819, and its non-Anglican counterpart, the British and Canadian School, founded in 1822, made educational provision for large numbers of lower class children. The (Lancastrian) Infant School, opened in 1828, and the American Presbyterian School, opened in 1830, widened this provision for the lower classes.

A. Dufour estimates that, as a result of this effort for the lower classes and the provision of private schools for others, by 1825 71.1 per cent of children living in the urban area of Montreal between the ages of 6 and 13 were enrolled in a school. By 1835 she estimates that this had increased to 73.3 per cent for the same age group.⁴⁴ There was an

increase in the percentage of children receiving free education during this same period, from 44.5 per cent in 1825 to 49.0 percent in 1835.⁴⁵ In the following table I have combined Dufour's figures for schools and pupils with the figures given for the 1831 census. If the figures are comparable, and I believe that they are, they would seem to indicate that much of the increase in school enrollment between 1825 and 1831 was due to the increase in girls receiving education. After 1831 the increase in the number of boys, although lower than the increase in girls, was more substantial. Almost 60 per cent of the increase in the number of pupils between 1825 and 1835 is accounted for by the increased provision of free schooling. Indeed, Dufour underscores the rise of free schooling as one of the important factors in the increase in schooling in Montreal:

*Cette gratuité assurée par l'évêque Lartigue, les religieuses, les Sulpiciens et, surtout, par les Sociétés d'éducation et de bienfaisance, a sans doute été un des grands facteurs de la forte fréquentation des écoles et de la hausse que celle-ci connaît en 1835.*⁴⁶

<u>Table</u>	<u>1825</u>	<u>1831</u>	<u>1835</u>
Schools			
Old City	17	17	20
Suburbs	24	22	46
Schools	41	39	66
Pupils (boys)	1543	1596	2015
(girls)	1160	1414	1906
Old City	1289	1408	1620

Suburbs	1414	1602	2301
Total	2703	3010	3921
Free	1202		1921

The second trend to note consists of the legislative initiatives to provide a system of education for the province. Jocelyn Waller maintained in an editorial in the Canadian Spectator, February 5, 1823, that the French-Canadian members of the House of Assembly "have made repeated and zealous efforts to remedy this injurious system (i.e., the Royal Institution) by establishing one that would be efficacious in the spreading of education; but they have been baffled." He pointed to attempts to establish a system of country schools: an 1818 parochial schools bill, which was approved by the Legislative Council but reserved for the Royal Pleasure; another of 1819, which met the same fate; another in 1821, which had the support of Bishop J.-O. Plessis but was also reserved for the Royal Pleasure; it was reintroduced in 1822. The desire to provide elementary schooling for the rural areas led to attempts to establish two Royal Institutes or two committees within the one Royal Institution.

One act which was allowed to proceed was the law (4 Geo. iv, ch. 31) establishing the Parish Council Schools (écoles de fabriques) sanctioned March 9, 1824. There were, it appears, only three such schools established on the Island of Montreal, outside the parish of Montreal; two in Sault au Recollet parish, and one in Pointe aux

Trembles parish. The 1824 act, which did not apply to the cities, was not effective. Despite Bishop Lartigue's support for it, its failure lay not in the indifference of the parish clergy but in its dependence upon already meager rural parish revenues, the collection of which could not be enforced unless the parish was incorporated. The extent of its ineffectiveness may be seen in that by 1829 it had only brought into being 48 schools which became 68 by the following year.⁴⁷ Nevertheless, education was expected as one of the services provided in large rural parishes and its absence was noticed.⁴⁸

Educational expectations may perhaps be measured by the soaring number of schools established under the School Act of 1829 (écoles des syndics) sanctioned March 14, 1829 (9 Geo. iv., ch. 46) which also did not apply to the cities. There was provision for the education of from twenty to fifty poor scholars in each school under the act. In addition to the two Parish Council Schools in Sault au Recollet parish which took advantage of more generous provisions of the new act, there were five Trustee schools established on Montreal Island outside the parish of Montreal; two in St. Laurent parish, and one each in Rivière-des-Prairies, Pointe-Claire and Lachine parishes. The rapid increase in the number of schools and pupils enrolled in school may be seen in the following table.⁴⁹ It might be pointed out that because of the Education Acts of 1829 and 1832 (2 Wm. iv, ch. 26), the latter of which established 1344 school districts, much of the growth in educational provision took place in the country areas. Such a rapid increase there

almost certainly put pressure on groups within the cities who were deficient in educational provision.

<u>Table</u>	<u>1828</u>	<u>1829</u>	<u>1830</u>	<u>1831</u>
Cities				
Schools	72			
Pupils	4909			
Country				
Schools	253			
Pupils	6770			
Totals				
Schools	325	465	987	1282
Pupils	11679	18410	41791	45203
	<u>1832</u>	<u>1833</u>	<u>1834</u>	<u>1835</u>
Country				
Schools	1038	1075	1273	1372
Pupils	41377	45158	50230	53377

A third trend that is noticeable is the increase in expectations and changing content of elementary education. It appears that private schools and Roman Catholic parish schools were spurred by the offerings of the National School and the British and Canadian School to

extend elementary education beyond the three staples of reading, writing and calculation. One notices that in 1825 only the English mixed class taught by Marie Lebrun in St. Antoine suburb parish school extended elementary education by offering grammar and geography.

By 1835 many of the parish schools and the bilingual boys' and girls' classes of the Bishop's school as well as the Recollet School Society and the Congregation de Notre Dame schools offered grammar as a part of the curriculum.⁵⁰ L.-P. Audet remarks that the extended curriculum was introduced in the parish schools to stop the flow of Catholic pupils to Protestant schools.⁵¹ In addition, there were a number of private schools charging fees comparable to those charged by the parish schools or only slightly more than offered an extended curriculum consisting usually of grammar and geography.

This situation may be taken as an indication of heightened expectations of elementary schooling. Indeed, the 1836 bill to establish model schools to prepare teachers for elementary schools advocated reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, mensuration and geography as subjects of study.⁵² Two years later, September 1838, in his letters under the pseudonym "C.D.", J.-B. Meilleur proposed two basic levels of education as the basis of the school system, an elementary level offering reading, writing and arithmetic (to the rule of three) and a primary level offering reading, writing, arithmetic, bookkeeping, grammar, rhetoric, mensuration and geography, beginning with North American geography.⁵³ The second level was to train elementary

teachers. Meilleur also proposed that within six years time no one be allowed to enter upon an apprenticeship without an elementary education.

The fourth trend that may be seen in this same period is the growth of secondary and higher education, particularly for but not exclusive to the élite. The Collège de Montréal (or Petit Séminaire, earlier known as Collège St-Raphaël), of course, existed from 1767 and was transferred to Montreal in 1790. Alex Skakel, who had opened a Classical and Mathematical School in Montreal in 1799, became Grammar School Master in succession to Rev. John Leeds late in 1818. There was some provision in each of these schools for impoverished youth to pursue their studies. Competing institutions were established soon afterward; Union School, operated by the Workman brothers, in 1819, and the Montreal Academical Institution, under Reverend Henry Esson and Reverend Hugh Urquhart, in 1822.

The increasing competition between the Church of Scotland and the Church of England over co-establishment in the 1820s, and between factions within the Church of Scotland after 1825 over religious, and probably also political, views led to the founding of two schools in 1828 under Bishop Stewart's patronage, one in Chambly and the other in Montreal, and a school under Reverend Edward Black in 1829. One may also note here the rise of academies in the Eastern Townships. Charleston, Shefford and Sherbrooke academies were in operation by 1835.

There was an attempted rapprochement in 1834 when it was proposed that the three leading schoolmasters, Skakel, Ramsay and Black, be appointed professors at McGill and be permitted to operate a joint Grammar School there.⁵⁴ This move was prevented by the fact that in 1832, when McGill was given the right to grant degrees in medicine, the four professors of the Medical School were appointed to the only available chairs. All of these schools provided elementary education for the élite, when required, as well as a secondary curriculum.

Post-secondary education also received attention during this period. The Collège de Montréal received some English-speaking students who wished to further their education; one example of this was John Stephenson.⁵⁵ The Royal Institution took formal possession of Burnside in June 1829 and the two Church of Scotland ministers, who had, it seems, won some concessions for their Church, were present.⁵⁶ Immediately afterward the Montreal Medical Institution was engrafted onto McGill College as its sole teaching faculty, although, under pressure from Bishop Mountain, Governor-in-Chief Dalhousie had already appointed faculty in late 1823. The Canadian Education and Home Missionary Society, founded in 1827, announced the beginning of a four year classical and preparatory course in January 1832. It attracted only three students, all three preparing for theology, and in the spring was moved to Kingston, where John Smith attempted to serve the needs of his students and a pastoral charge.⁵⁷ For a variety of reasons the school closed in June 1834.

Professional education, especially medicine, advanced more rapidly following trends already marked out in Great Britain. Lecturing by individual doctors in Quebec may be traced to the early years of the century. This was followed by attempted schools of medicine and lecturing based on dispensaries and hospitals. Under the constant pressure exerted by the Government appointed Boards of Examiners to upgrade qualifications, students supplemented their period of apprenticeship (or clericulture, as it was called) with periods of study in hospitals and universities in the United States and Europe. B. Tunis found that in the 1816-1831 period "As the level of formal education increased, education solely by apprenticeship declined to an average of twenty per cent of all medical licentiates in Lower Canada".⁵⁸

One hospital-based institution, the Montreal Medical Institution founded in 1823, was able to attract the Governor's favor and received a monopoly on the training and licensing functions. Attached to McGill College in 1829, it saw its powers diminished when the House of Assembly in 1831 passed a law placing medical licensing in the hands of boards elected by the practitioners themselves.

A similar move to upgrade qualifications by supplementing the usual practice of individual reading and study was urged for the training of lawyers. Chief Justice Jonathan Sewell advocated a program of public lectures for law students in his inaugural address to the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec in May 1824.⁵⁹ At Quebec under the auspices of the Advocates Library (founded in 1811) lawyer Louis

Plamondon (1785-1828) attempted to implement this in 1826.⁶⁰ The Advocates Library of Montreal, founded in 1828, was urged by Chief Justice James Reid to set the conditions for entry to the study of law and a course of study to be followed by law students during the period of apprenticeship, or clericulture. The executive of the Library preferred to put forward a program of lectures while leaving the course of studies to be prescribed for individual students by their proper mentors.⁶¹ Further education in the form of completion of a course of studies in one of the Classical Colleges was recognized as fulfilling part of the qualifications for admission to the study of law in 1836. Such study reduced the term of clericulture from five to four years in length.

In theology also there was a move toward more formal training and away from individual tutoring. Although Archbishop Plessis was unable to persuade the Sulpicians to undertake theological education of recruits, he did found a seminary at Nicolet for the training of priests. Bishop Stewart placed Church of England trainees at the Chambly school under Joseph Braithwaite in the decade after 1829. The opening of classes by the Canadian Education and Home Mission, as mentioned above, did not lead to the hoped for results. The Church of Scotland advocated a professorship at the newly established King's College, Toronto, but was constrained by the terms of its relationship to the Scottish General Assembly to accept for ordination only licentiates of the mother church. The Baptists would open a Theological College in September 1838 and the Congregationalists in 1842.

B. Tunis remarks that "after 1825 ... the structure of society changed and a new class of medical men emerged from the middle class."⁶² She argues that a new group of native-born doctors both English-speaking and French-speaking, some of whom had received European training, was able to challenge the dominance of the British military doctor. In fact, military background was coming to play less of a part in determining social status in the community. Instead, education was seen as a means of demarcation and served to obtain or consolidate one's social standing in the Montreal community. It is possible to document the rise of the sons of members of the artisan class into the middle classes by means of the professions. Likewise, sons of members of the middle class maintained their social status through professional training. Particularly important in this process was education or training received at a European, or preferably a British, university.

Against this background one finds that the lower middle classes had a paucity of options in the late 1820s. Faced with a push-pull situation, that is a rise in educational provision for the lower classes, the move to more formal training for the professions and the use of education to establish one's social status, there was little available to them for their sons. The Misses Nichols in the Old City offered reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography in a mixed class and John Bruce's Montreal English and Classical Academy in St. Antoine suburb offered the largest range of choice including reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, mathematics, geography, history, and bookkeeping in what

amounted to secondary education.⁶³ John Fleming (1786-1832), a merchant with literary concerns, in 1824 published An essay on the education and duties of a Canadian merchant. In it he argued that English grammar, writing, arithmetic, and bookkeeping were necessary elements in a merchant's education. Mathematics, including practical navigation, geography, taught from Canadian history and geography texts, and the languages of the principal trading nations were also desirable.⁶⁴

An examination of the other schools available in 1825 suggests that few of them offered the extended education which the middle classes were seeking. Those that did are mentioned in what follows but they were all probably intended for the steadily employed working classes or the lower classes: the English class at the St. Antoine Parish school taught by Marie Lebrun which extended elementary education consisting of reading, writing, and arithmetic by offering grammar and geography; Thomas Neagle's English Mercantile and Mathematical School in St. Antoine suburb which extended elementary education consisting of reading, writing and arithmetic by offering grammar and bookkeeping; P. Gee's Classical and English School in St. Laurent suburb which extended elementary education consisting of reading, writing and calculation by offering arithmetic and grammar; and Mrs. Brooks' school with a bilingual mixed class offering reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography and history. Below this one would find the National School which offered extended elementary education consisting of reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography and bookkeeping or

the British and Canadian school which offered reading, writing, arithmetic (calculation for girls), grammar and geography.

E.A. Talbot in a two volume work published in 1824 was critical of the low attainments of many middle class aspirants in the 1820s. His criticism must have remained pertinent through much of the period since the Vindicator reprinted it in February 18, 1834. Of the "'shopkeepers and the more wealthy mechanics" he wrote:

Within the last twenty years, many men have acquired large fortunes in Montreal from very low beginnings; and it is worthy of remark that, although there are not, I believe, more than five or six families in the city, excepting those of the first class, whose rank in life, before the acquisition of their wealth, was above that of servants and mechanics, they exhibit as much pride, and as strong an inclination towards aristocratical distinction, as many of the old patrician families in Europe. The ci-devant coopers and carpenters of this city, having once thrown aside the adze and the jack-plane assume all the airs of nobility, and look down upon their less fortunate compeers with well-merited contempt. Nothing can be more characteristic of the vanity of these gentry, than the fact, that you may see them daily advertised in the public papers as "Directors of the Banking establishments," with ESQUIRE in full length at the tail of their names. I have now a newspaper before me, which contains no less than three of these advertisements, in which the names of five persons are given to the public as ESQUIRES: -two of whom are carpenters, still working at their trade; the third, once a plasterer, has become a gin-seller; the fourth, formerly a cooper, is now a retail grocer; and the fifth is a painter and glazier.⁶⁵

Given this context it should not be surprising to find that one of the developments in the 1830s was the rise of a number of schools that appear to have catered to the middle classes. In addition to six

schools⁶⁶ that charged fees that I have classified as set for the lower middle classes or steadily employed working class there were sixteen⁶⁷ that may be classed as select or middle class schools by the fees that they charged and the curriculum that they offered. Five of the latter were girls schools but the rest with one exception had mixed classes. I will suggest that it may have been the rise of these schools that brought a change in the intended clientèle of the classes of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

One specific group that needs further consideration in this section consists of the apprentices engaged in the study of a trade. Several recent studies suggest that apprentices were living through changing times. The changing nature of work with increasing subdivision of tasks and larger work forces within the artisan or handicraft production led to the hiring of unskilled labor with simple on-the-job training.⁶⁸ The ready availability of immigrant journeymen, often transitory, needing resources before moving inland also reduced the need to engage apprentices. This brought a noticeable decline in the number of apprentices.⁶⁹

There was also a tendency to substitute wages for room, board and clothing in the master's house.⁷⁰ Education, which had often been specified in the indenture and provided within the domestic situation of the master's house, would suffer from this loss of contest. This situation, which found an echo in Meilleur's proposal noted above, led some employers to demand an elementary education before commencing

an apprenticeship.⁷¹ It may also have led to a concern on the part of some to seek means to educate their apprentices. It may be this that is envisaged by Bishop Lartigue's proposal "for the free instruction of young workers of this city Sunday evenings and weekdays to teach drawing, some principles of geometry, the art of making plans to render them more capable in the exercise of their respective trades."⁷²

D. The Activities of the Montreal Mechanic's Institute.

(1) The voluntary association of mechanics and others

The constitution adopted in 1833 presents an idealistic view of what was meant by voluntary association. It is certainly a form of mutual instruction to complement the individual's reading and to help him in his assimilation of knowledge. The pertinent articles read:

There shall be Weekly Meetings of the Institution for the admission of Members and other external business of the Institution, as well as for discussions and conversations on such subjects as have been previously adopted and announced. These conversations shall be conducted in an easy informal manner, the members presiding in rotation; and, in order to direct the previous reading and reflection of the members, the various topics or heads shall be written out in the form of queries, or otherwise, in the same order in which they are to be discussed. (Article lxxv)

After the usual business of the Weekly Meeting is gone through the members present shall be requested to lay before the meeting any interesting information which they have recently acquired relative to the Arts, or in any way interesting to the Society; such as, the latest discoveries inventions or improvements in the Arts or Sciences; causes of the greater or less prosperity, or the want of encouragement of any art, trade or profession; of inferiority in skill, enterprise, etc. of those who practice it; the advantages or disadvantages of the country in which we live, as respect the Arts, Agriculture, Emigration, etc.; its Natural Phenomena and Productions. (Article lxxix)

The slightest improvement that any of the members may have made in any of the Arts, when recognized as such by a committee appointed to examine it, shall entitle its author to such marks of distinction as the Institution may deem expedient. (Article 1xx)

A book shall lie upon the table to receive such remarks and queries, by any of the members, as shall appear to the Society useful or important. (Article 1xxii)

When any number of members are desirous of prosecuting a particular study, they may form themselves into a class for that purpose; and it shall be the duty of the general committee to give every facility and encouragement to such a laudable design. (Article 1xxiii)

The minutes of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute while not complete in every detail, permit us to see some of this activity. The rotation of chairmanship at the meetings may have been more characteristic of the institute after December 1831 than before. Certainly for the first period of the institute's existence Reverend Henry Esson assumed the chair more times than any other member, presiding fifteen of thirty-one meetings before the end of July 1829. Beyond that time it is difficult to find a pattern or discern any order in the chairmanship of the weekly meetings. All that can be said is that it was, in large measure, the persons identified below, in the section on membership, as the promoters of the institute, and those who later joined them, who presided.

It is clear that there was a book of queries in which members wrote out questions meant to provoke thought and discussion. One finds, for example, that April 7, 1829 Alexander Stevenson read a paper on the

"Nature and Culture of Lucerne" as a reply to query two. Two weeks later Stevenson was to pose the question "Why the rivers running southward have not the abrupt rapids that exist in those that run in the northerly direction" as query five. Natural phenomena held a certain attraction for several members as is seen from William Ayre's question on "the cause of water spouts in Seas, Lakes, and Rivers." Some queries were more related to vocational interest, such as the two posed by James Cooper, the one, "on the best way to cut timber into planks and boards to promote strength, durability and elegance ... for joiners and cabinet work." and the other, "on the advantages of a railroad between the town of Montreal and the best stone quarry in its vicinity that would supply the demands for building, exportation and all other public works." Another example of the same character would be Samuel Hudson's query on the hardening of steel. The query by J.R. Pommanville on the properties of the isosceles triangle appears to have elicited the most interest. Among the several letters received and solutions outlined at meetings there was a reply from D.T. Jones, teacher of the Royal Institution school at Lachine, giving the answer in algebraic characters.

Others queries were suggested conversation topics. Esson, who began with a lecture December 16, 1828 on "The object and advantages of Mechanics' Institutes" and continued January 3, 1829 with "A Sketch on future directions," posed a question about "the peculiar advantages to be obtained from Mechanics Institutions in the existing State of Society in this part of the World." Robert Armour Jr.'s question, "To whom is

the palm of merit mostly due for their eminence in the arts and sciences, the Ancients or the Moderns?" is similar in form and suggestive of the topics announced by the Philomathic Club, a society which was mentioned above in the section dealing with the history of the institute. As early as May 12, 1829 it was agreed that the subjects of conversation be published in the local newspapers. I have been unable to find a single instance of this happening. On the other hand, it was done for the Philomathic Club. A Committee on weekly topics comprising Reverend Henry Esson, Robert Cleghorn, William Holwell, Aaron Hart, and William Hough was established July 14, 1829 but it is not clear whether it ever reported. It may be noted that the Montreal Natural History Society set up a topics committee about one year earlier, May 26, 1828.

Several members presented essays or papers at the weekly meeting. Joseph Clarke presented on on the "Progress of the Arts" January 13, 1829, and another on "The Excellence and the Utility of the Arts" March 24, 1829. A year later, January 19, 1830, he read an essay on "Principles of Architecture." December 30, 1828, William Ayres had prepared a paper and specimens of pigments which was held *in retentis*. Ayres was a painter and his proposed subject was perhaps beyond the competence of the members of the institute, but one may recall that a similar paper by the Quebec lawyer William Green (1787-1832) was the basis in 1828 for the awarding of the London Society for the Arts' Isis gold medal.⁷³

Alexander Stevenson was perhaps the most active member in terms of essays. He proposed an essay December 16, 1828 on the Causes and Cures of Cahots. It was read December 23, 1828 and he presented a continuation on April 7, 1829. A committee was formed to report on the importance of the subject of the essay, but one need only recall that cahots were often the subject of newspaper comment and of experiment, as well as of a particularly lively reaction to a government ordinance in the early 1840s⁷⁴ to see that he was dealing with a well known phenomenon. He returned to the same subject with plans for a winter carriage February 2, 1830. It was after a series of papers by Stevenson in December 1829 on "Limestone", "Pure Limestone", and "Impurities in Limestone", that Joseph Clarke proposed that a permanent lecturer be appointed.

Aaron Hart, a lawyer who was a former pupil of Esson's school, presented a paper January 20, 1829 on "Prison Discipline" and it was read March 31, 1829. The erection of a new goal made this topical. Afterward a committee was struck to reconsider the subject of the essay. One wonders if this implied some criticism of his work. August 4, 1829 Hart proposed an essay on the "Discovery and Progress of Architecture." This was certainly topical with the recent opening on June 7, 1829, of Notre Dame Church designed by architect James O'Donnell, who was held in high esteem by Montreal builders and professionals. Hart was not present August 11 and there was no meeting August 18. On August 25 Hart apologized that the essay was not ready and asked for time to prepare it. Again he was not present

September 1 and the members of the institute asked when they might expect the essay. Hart reacted to the inquiry and at its meeting September 8 it was recorded that "the Society have to express their regret that Mr. Hart has taken umbrage where no offence was intended." At the next meeting, September 15, Hart was present but had also sent a letter which led the members to record their censure "for writing a letter so derogatory to the dignity of the Institution." It is recorded that "Mr. Hart after speaking a few words took a farewell leave of the Society."⁷⁵

During the second period of the institute's existence members' papers and remarks continued. James Cooper, for example, is recorded as offering a few remarks February 5, 1833 on "The injurious effects of frost on buildings and means of preventing it." The remarks were referred to a committee. Later the same year, December 24, 1833, L.-J. Papineau entered a query on a "cheaper and cleaner method of heating public buildings."⁷⁶ W.A. Holwell read an essay on "Human Happiness" on March 25, 1835. The importance of these activities was recognized by the editor of Canadian Courant who spoke of the institute's utility.⁷⁷ Bosworth spoke of "this useful Society ... capable .. of being made useful to the improvement of a valuable class of our citizens in habits and intelligence" and appears to attach importance to "the ordinary exercises allotted to the hours of meeting."⁷⁸

The presentation of models for examination by a committee in order to gain recognition and a measure of distinction for the member was a part

of the regular program. On December 23, 1828, William A. Holwell proposed to demonstrate an improvement in the valves of the steam engine. A committee was formed but the model was not ready on December 30 and it is unclear if it was built. Nevertheless, Holwell presented a model May 26, 1829 for improved watch keys. On January 27, 1829 William Ayres brought forward a baking machine, to obviate the need for using one's hands to mix dough, in response to a query in the American Mechanics' magazine. Similarly, on March 31, 1829 John Bennett presented a model of an improved brickmaking machine, on April 14 of the same year James Cooper brought his machine for boiling grain to feed cattle, and on May 12, 1829 William Spence had a model of improvements to the printing process to supply the type with ink. Each of these models was examined by a committee but their findings are unknown. The Spence model, however, which was exhibited by the institute January 5, 1830, is of interest in that it appears to have been the forerunner of a commercially exploitable invention.⁷⁹

Another model for improvements to steamboats, belonging to John Pigott, of Three Rivers (a non-member?), brought its author a \$30.00 award; the institute's circumstances at the time suggest that the occasion may have been more pertinent to the internal history of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute than to the merit of the model.

In addition to models, the institute appears to have examined specimens of the artisans' own handiwork or to have entertained suggestion for craft improvement. James Cooper, for example,

presented a paper on the Canadian window and door April 7, 1829, and a year later, on June 29, 1830, invited the members to his home to examine a geometrical staircase that he had built in his home. Another member, John Scott, presented a paper on a fireproof safe April 13, 1830. Perhaps taking his cue from its use in the placement of the pillars of Notre-Dame Church, William Shand suggested "the use of the Canadian Gin (i.e., crane) and Truck Cart in Britain."⁸⁰ Transportation, as well as building, was a center of interest at the time. Bridges, in particular, were a necessity for the expanding road network. George Holman presented a model for a bridge February 22, 1831 and a plan for William Dow's bridge was brought forward on April 12 of that same year. It was such activities that led the institute to boast in its first annual report, January 1830, and in its petition to the House of Assembly in February 1831, that it had "several models of new inventions and improvements in the operation of mechanics ... several mathematical and philosophical instruments ... many valuable papers, which have been read ... treating principally upon the arts and sciences."

Models continued to be presented during the second period of the institute's history. One might cite the gift of a model of a bridge January 30, 1833 and George Bernard's presentation March 4, 1834, of a model of a two-wheel carriage, which was referred to a committee. As mentioned above road building activities made bridges important to the community. N.H. Baird, for example, on March 18, 1834 advertised in the Montreal Gazette as a member of the Institution of Civil Engineers,

London, with a bridge patent giving him exclusive rights to its use for fourteen years. It may also be noted that Alexander Skakel's lectures in the spring of 1833 were intended to help the institute buy models.

(2) **Donations**

It is perhaps superfluous to attempt to list the donations received by the Institute. Suffice it to say that they were numerous and diverse whether or not they all appear in the minute book. There were books, which will be cited below, mineralogical specimens, some 500 in the first year, natural history specimens, natural curiosities, including a fossilized fish, a petrified snake and an odd-shaped potato, as well as instruments, and models.

(3) **Library and Reading Room**

The Reading Room of the institute opened shortly after it was formed. A notice in the Montreal Gazette, December 4, 1828, states that "the Reading Room will be open for subscribers on Monday next (i.e., December 8) at Seven o'clock P.M.". This would be in the Montreal Academical Institution for the institute did not obtain its own rooms until April 21, 1829. It also suggests that the institute may have possessed from its very beginning by way of gift or loan a number of books that do not appear on the list of donations. The members met June 30, 1829 in the Library of the Institute which suggests that the library was in its own room. It is almost certain that this was so after the institute accepted Huddell's proposal involving two rooms above the Post Office and a large room on the first floor in mid 1829.⁸¹ On September 15 and November 10, 1829 the members met in the Reading

Room and on December 8 they requested that Huddell "light the fire in the Reading Room every night except Sunday."

On January 6, 1829 the Rules of the Library, Museum and Reading Room were announced. Seven weeks later, February 17, 1829, the members appointed William Boston, George Holman, John Carmichael, William Shand and Robert Cleghorn a committee to find a librarian. Alexander Gray was chosen as the institute's first librarian. The appointment was brief because the proposal for rooms which was accepted at the end of July 1829 included the services of James Huddell as librarian.

The Library sub-committee met September 18, 1829 and again November 16, 1829. While one cannot know the substance of those meetings it is clear that there was considerable progress. The first Annual Report stated that the "Library consists of 370 choice works, principally treating of the arts and sciences." One may posit that the institute understated its resources in its petition to the House of Assembly in February 1831 when it mentions a library of 250 volumes. The petition also cites the lack of books dealing with "Modern Improvements, Mechanics, Engineering, and other useful Arts." The merger of institutes in 1840 mentions only that 136 books were received from the Old Institute.

The number of volumes in the library at the end of the first year compares favorably with the progress in other libraries in Montreal. After its first year of existence the Natural History Society had 72

volumes and Advocates' Library had about 300 volumes.⁸² Similarly, the Mercantile Library Association acquired 311 volumes in its first year and before its purchase of the Montreal Library in 1844 it had 857 volumes representing 381 works.⁸³ The McGill Medical School founded in 1823 listed 844 volumes in its 1844 catalogue.⁸⁴

Some of the books in the library by 1835 can be known by reading the list of donations. There was: Nicholson, Journal of Science and Art in 4 volumes; Linnaeus, System of Nature; Manuel du Musiam Français (sic); Lives and works of the most celebrated painters; Companion to the Glasgow Botanic Garden; Scott's Mechanics Magazine; Planter's life in Jamaica; Griffin, On the Blow Pipe; Wade, Ancient and Modern Glasgow; Religious Observer; Paley, Natural Theology; Lord Steward's Guide; Cabinet of Arts; Arcana of Science; Cobbett, Grammar; 13 issues of Verulum; 6 issues of Guide to Knowledge; Penny Magazine; Dictionary of Mechanical Science; Scientific Irrigation; as well as books on experimental science, farming, weather diaries for several years and a Greek and Latin Testament. There were also a number of purchases, including The History of the Power of Steam, purchased March 19, 1832, Johnson's Dictionary and Ure's Chymical Dictionary, purchased January 14, 1834, that is just prior to Carter's lectures on chemistry. There does not appear to be any lack of books relating to botany and horticulture, mechanics and chemistry, and the sciences in general.

In the constitution published in 1833 the idea of a library was extended to a Library of reference and circulation, and a Reading Room.

Nevertheless, books circulated earlier than that. One notes, for example, that when Thomas Cliff was replaced on the General Committee March 30, 1830 it was stated that he was absent from Montreal, not paid up and had no books out from the library. As well, on June 29, 1830 a rule was instituted that no book from the library was to be kept longer than 14 days.

(4) **A Museum**

The museum grew quickly. The first Annual Report in 1830 stated that it consisted "of about 500 specimens of the mineral kingdom, principally collected in this country." On January 5, 1830 it was agreed to purchase a glass cabinet for £9 to hold the mineral specimens, and on May 18 to ask the members William Boston to varnish the cabinet and Alexander Stevenson to arrange the minerals in it. This was done and thanks voted to Stevenson July 20, 1830.

(5) **An Academy or School**

The Institution's objective of providing education for the sons and apprentices of its members was given to a committee formed March 24, 1829. It was enjoined to find "the best means of carrying into effect the Course of Education prescribed in the appendix to the Constitution." It should be noted that the school was not an afterthought but an integral part of the institution from its founding. The attempt to realize this project, however, appears to have been spurred by a new initiative in popular education. When the House of Assembly adopted a law (2 Geo. iv ch. 46), March 5, 1829, which was sanctioned by Sir James Kempt

March 14, 1829, to encourage elementary education under local control in the countryside, the Institute moved quickly to take measures that would fill the void that it discerned in the educational scene.

The Educational committee was composed of five members of the institute's executive, Honourable Louis Gagy, President, Horatio Gates, John Molson Sr., and Reverend Henry Esson, the Second, Third, and Fourth Vice-Presidents respectively, along with William Shand, Treasurer, and eleven members of the institute, Aaron Hart, lawyer, Charles Wand, innkeeper, Robert Cleghorn, gardener, George Holman, navigator, Joseph Clarke, building contractor, William Holwell, ordinance department, William Boston, painter, Alex Gray, auctioneer, Frances Howson, William Buchanan and one of the Warwick brothers, founders. The committee met April 6 and May 11, 1829 and reported progress.

The committee itself is of interest because it reflects the coming together of class interest, as has been pointed out in other local contexts, and also because some of its members had a deep interest in education. The Reverend Henry Esson, as is pointed out in this chapter, was engaged in a struggle for wider control of the educational institutions subsidized by the province. On January 27, 1829 he had appeared before the House of Assembly Special Committee, which was considering means to broaden the scope of the Royal Institution, to urge greater participation for the Church of Scotland in the Royal Institution. He was also Principal of one of the elite institutions for the education of

the aspiring young men of the city and surrounding area, the Montreal Academical Institution.

The other two Vice-Presidents were on the executive of non-Anglican school societies. Although it is far from clear that he played any real role in the institute, Horatio Gates was not only one of the leading merchants in Montreal but also the leading spirit in many of its charities, as well as President of the British and Canadian School Society from its formation in 1822 until his death in 1834, and President of the Montreal Infant School Society, formed in 1829. An American by birth, his appointment to the Legislative Council in 1833 was contested because it was claimed that he had never taken the oath of allegiance. John Molson Sr., a Unitarian sympathizer by the 1830s, was President of the Society for the Promotion of Education and Industry in Canada, another Lancastrian effort.

It should not be surprising then to find that the concerns of the middle class that I outlined earlier would come to the fore. What must be explained is not the desire for an educational institution for the middle class, but rather its failure to appear. I think that, as with the hiatus in the activities of the Mechanics' Institute itself, we should look closely at the events surrounding the career of the Reverend Henry Esson.

One of the elements in his own defence published in 1832 is Esson's attempted explanation of John Bruce's role in the conflict. He asserts that both Bruce and his late wife, who died in April 1831, took the lead

in mid 1829 with accusations of drunkenness against him out of pique "on account of some supposed interference with the interest of their school."⁸⁵ The coincidence of dates for the accusations and attempts to open a school at the Mechanics' Institute is perhaps not just a fortuitous chance. Bruce's Montreal English and Classical Academy was established to dispense the type of education the middle class sought. Bruce taught an extended elementary curriculum of reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, mathematics, geography, history and bookkeeping, and offered classes in the evening.

Robert Howden, until then a teacher at the Montreal Academical Institution, joined the Reverend Edward Black in the fall of 1829 in setting up a school in opposition to Esson's.⁸⁶ He, too, became involved in a dispute with Esson over the facts of the case. Howden, a drawing teacher, supplemented his income by offering private lessons and night school classes. Howden joined with Duncan in 1832 to establish a school and entered a new partnership, which lasted more than a decade, with Taggart in 1834. In both cases one may posit that, in part at least, Bruce and Howden were defending their own interests.

One element then in the failure of the Mechanics' Institute to meet its educational objectives in the first three years of its existence might well be this clash of conflicting interests. A second element, pointed up in the petition to the House of Assembly in February 1831, was the lack of finances.⁸⁷ Yet, when the time came late in 1833 to open a school, finances were not a hindrance. One might assume that if the

opportunity to provide free rooms for a day school teacher in exchange for night school classes had presented itself earlier the school would have opened earlier. Instead one must evoke once again the quarrel involving Esson, which had major repercussions on the institute during the period of 1831 to 1833, as a major stumbling block in the way of the fulfillment of the institute's program.

In the constitution published in 1833 the term Academy becomes "elementary schools" and the subjects are extended by including the possibility of adding "the elements of English Grammar and Drawing." The relevant articles of the constitution read:

The Committee shall, as soon as convenient, engage competent persons as Teachers in the Schools of the Institution. (Article Ixi)

Every member of the Institution will be expected to exert himself to promote the diffusion of knowledge, - and to take special care, that no young person, in his family or employment, shall be without such education as the Institution can give, provided circumstances will admit of his attendance. (Article Ixii)

In particular, it shall be the care of this Institution to patronize young men who display marks of genius and superior talent, and to afford them every facility and encouragement for the prosecution of those studies and arts for which they discover an aptitude. (Article Ixiii)

The Institution shall give certificates of character and progress to every pupil on leaving school, to be signed by the President. (Article Ixiv)

At its first meeting in the autumn of 1833, November 26, after a hiatus from June 4, with the Reverend Henry Esson in the chair, there was a proposal "to start a school Wednesday, December 4 at 7 o'clock for the

instruction of the sons and apprentices of members." In response to an offer from John Durie, who wished to open a day school, it was resolved

to apprise Mr. John Durie (by letter) that the Institution is willing to allow him the use of one of their rooms for his contemplated Day School provided that he ... will consent to devote two hours of his time each of the evenings that he may be required in his capacity as teacher to instruct the sons and apprentices of the members of this Institution.

Arrangements were made with members John White, John Fleming, John Brunson and William Andrews to prepare the schoolroom. The school opened the next evening, December 11, 1833, with fifteen young men present. Classes were held Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday evenings from seven to nine o'clock.

The editor of the Canadian Courant, Benjamin Workman, remarked on December 14, 1833:

The institution has given an additional and judicious proof of its utility by returning to weekly meetings and establishing an evening school. The school went into operation on Wednesday last, and fifteen pupils attended. A number of additional pupils are expected, and the course of instruction adopted is such as will be of the most essential advantage to the pupils, who are nearly all mechanics' apprentices. The ordinary classes in English have been opened, and also in Arithmetic. Writing and Geometry will form part of the course and a class of advanced pupils will, it is intended, be placed in charge of one of the members of the Institution most experienced in Architectural drawing. A gentleman has been mentioned as instructor of this class, who, should he find leisure for the task, would be an acquisition to the School. The present efficient utility of the Montreal Mechanics Institute is a powerful refutation of the objections to such societies, which are sometimes heard from those who, were they to look more to their advantages would be convinced that their opinions were based on erroneous conclusions. No class of our youth called more for attention

than Mechanics' apprentices, and we rejoice to find that the Institution has taken up this important matter.

At the meeting of December 17 the School Committee was "empowered to engage a competent Master to teach the Sons and apprentices of members the Art of Drawing." The following week John Cliff was appointed Drawing Master and the beginning of classes fixed for Monday, December 30. School rates and regulations were approved March 11, 1834.

The editor of the Canadian Courant returned to the subject January 18, 1834 in his report on the Annual Meeting of the Mechanics' Institute. He details the activities of the school and its future plans:

The school has been open about 5 weeks and there are already 25 pupils in reading, writing and arithmetic, etc., 7 in architectural drawing the latter under the tuition of Mr. Cliff.

The school committee also intend to form as soon as possible, classes in English Grammar, Geography, Geometry, and Mathematics, there is likewise a committee to be appointed for the purpose of procuring without delay the necessary apparatus for illustrating the Sciences of Mechanics, Natural Philosophy and Chemistry.

The writer concludes his account with a call for patronage of the schooling concluding that:

it will make good Mechanics, good Scholars, and good Men ... finely fixed and established in the healthy possession of scientific Knowledge and moral sentiment.

What one should note in this account of the school, which I have cited at length, is that the pupils are designated as mechanics' apprentices, who are studying at the elementary level. The subjects are reading,

writing and arithmetic, with some advanced students in drawing. The committee intends to extend the curriculum with geography and grammar, the two most common subjects used in this way. To this elementary curriculum are added those subjects which for well over a century formed the basic elements of technical education, namely, drawing, geometry and mathematics and some science.

Workman saw the school making an important contribution to the education of a "class of our youth." He appears to suggest that the members of the institute have made a conscious decision to fill the gap caused by the loss of the domestic setting, which I noted at the end of the previous section. In other words, the sons of Institution members, although alluded to in the school proposal are missing from this picture.

One may conjecture that there are several causes for this change of clientele. Perhaps the omission of "Ancient and Modern Languages" is significant. This would only point up the situation which I mentioned earlier which is the use of education as a means of demarcation in society. The affluent mechanics desired for their sons the classical or grammar school education that would enable them to enter the professions and establish themselves as members of the middle class. A second trend which I alluded to was the rise of schools for the middle class. The sons of the more affluent artisans and shopkeepers could attend day school, either the middle class schools or the elite grammar schools, and had no need of evening classes. This too tended to make clear the differentiation between persons of different social status.

The Institute's school only lasted for a term of less than four months. Although the members of the Institute established a sub-committee March 18, 1834 to seek new premises, the cost was greater than their funds would allow. There was an offer on April 8, 1834 from James King, a schoolteacher in Ste. Anne suburb, to act as teacher, Secretary, Librarian and Museum Keeper but it was not to be. Durie was notified the same evening, April 8, 1834 to discontinue his school because of repairs and alterations to the building. On December 30, 1834, one year after the school had opened, the members resolved to defer reestablishing the school.

(6) Lectures

The statement of purpose of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute mentioned lectures on "Natural and Experimental Philosophy, Practical Mechanics, Astronomy, Chemistry, Civil history, Political economy, Philosophy of the human mind, Literature and the Arts" as one of the means of instruction. It has already been noted that this is wider than science education and it may also be pointed out here that lecturing was but one element of a larger program. Certainly, it as a large and encyclopedic culture that was aimed at by all the means available.

In December 1828 Alexander Stevenson, surveyor and former teacher, possibly only recently returned to Montreal after a period of residence at Chambly, proposed to give a course of lectures on mineralogy. The

prospectus was referred to the General Committee and disappears from view. After Stevenson had given a series of three papers on limestone a year later, Joseph Clarke moved for a paid lecturer on the grounds that "Mr. Stevenson has ... delivered some valuable descriptions or Lectures on Limestones and as such information cannot be duly appreciated or received with that general benefit as it would if received in a regular way and a proper salary paid to the Lecturer - in order to have a regular course of Information during the present Winter Season ..." The result was the announcement in the Canadian Courant two weeks later that

A weekly course of lectures will be delivered at the rooms of the Institution, St. James Street, on the substances generally employed in the act of building in this country.

Although there is no indication of who the lecturer was to be, the fact that Stevenson had earlier offered to lecture on mineralogy and had most recently read essays on limestone, one of the substances used in building, suggests that he was the intended lecturer. On January 12, 1830, two days before the lectures were scheduled to begin, it was announced to the members that Dr. A.F. Holmes had "offered the use of his mineral cabinet for the building lectures." This announcement and the statement in the first annual report that the first course of lectures was about to commence is the only evidence there is for the lectures which were to run on Thursday evenings.

The Natural History Society lectures "on the most interesting and popular portions of the Chemical sciences to be illustrated by numerous experiments," to which members of the Mechanics' Institute were invited, were to be given on six successive Saturday evenings.

The next indication of lectures is a notice in the Irish Vindicator of March 26, 1830 that Richard Leach, teacher of the Montreal Parish School, would offer a course of six lectures on elocution at 2s. per lecture or 7s.6d. for the course. The lectures, which took place Friday April 2, Thursday April 8 (the 9th was Good Friday), Fridays April 16, 23, 30 and May 7, drew favorable reviews and apparently a respectable following. It is unclear, however, whether this series of lectures was sponsored by the institute or merely delivered in its premises.⁸⁸

At the Half-Yearly meeting held July 13, 1830 Dr. Robert Nelson, who had joined the previous month, offered to provide a course of lectures (on chemistry?) free of charge. Recently appointed surgeon of the Hôtel-Dieu Hospital, Nelson and others opposed the McGill Medical Faculty monopoly on the teaching of medicine and the licensing of doctors. It is possible that this proposed series of lectures did not take place. In December 1830 and again in October 1831 Drs. Nelson and Vallee announced medical lectures on surgery and materia medica in French, but after the courses ran for a year the two dissident doctors apparently were thwarted in future attempts by the McGill faculty.⁸⁹ The following year, July 1831, Nelson was one of the medical men elected to the post of Examiner to the exclusion of the McGili group.

The next known course of lectures was provided by Benjamin Workman. A small notice inserted in the Canadian Courant, February 2, 1831 read,

A few lectures on Geometry, and its applications to mechanics, will be

*delivered by a member, in the Rooms of the Institution, St. James Street.
The first lecture will be delivered this evening at Eight o'clock.*

These lectures ran from February 1 to April 19, 1831 at which time there was a vote of thanks to Workman. In the appendix on membership I have indicated about seven members who joined during the period covered by Workman's lectures and several others who joined either immediately prior to or after them. It may be that some of these members joined because of the lectures inasmuch as several do not appear to be related to the internal quarrel within the institute.

The petition to the House of Assembly in February 1831 at the time of the Workman lectures did not say there had not been lectures at the institute but rather that it had "been found impracticable to have the advantage of Courses of Lectures on Practical Mechanics, Natural Philosophy, etc. from the impossibility of procuring the requisite Apparatus." It appears that the Workman lectures brought forward the necessary equipment for his lectures by way of donations from Joseph Andrews (a pair of mahogany compasses) and John Whitelaw (a drawing board).

The 1833 constitution read:

*The Committee may engage proper persons or Lecturers, and shall cause to be given Courses of Lectures on Natural and Experimental Philosophy, Practical Mechanics, Astronomy, Chemistry, Literature and the Arts ...
(Article Ivi)*

As was pointed out earlier "Civil history, Political economy and Philosophy of the human mind" had been dropped from the list, possibly

to bring it more into line with the constitution of the London Mechanics' Institute.

In February 1833 Alexander Skakel offered to deliver to the members of the reorganized institute a series of lectures in his own schoolroom gratis in order that the institute might use the proceeds for the purchase of models. It would appear that these lectures, which cost non-members 1s.3d. per lecture, may have run for twelve weeks from March 12 to May 28, despite the lack of minutes for some of these dates. The institute then voted on June 4 to meet only once a month until the second week of November.

Shortly after the institute's meetings recommenced in late November 1833 Thomas Mitchell offered a course of lectures on Political Economy, one of the lecture subjects dropped from the list of the 1833 constitution. Pupils of the school were invited to attend the lectures gratis. On February 18, 1834 Mitchell received a vote of thanks and was asked to deliver more lectures on the subject. He finally broke off lecturing on March 11, after apparently delivering nine lectures. One may note that this lecturing took place at the period of time when the Governor Lord Aylmer had rejected or reserved all bills passed by the House of Assembly and the Parti patriote was setting forth the ninety-two resolutions and calling for the recall of Lord Aylmer.

Concurrent with the Mitchell lectures was a series of two lectures on Chemistry by Horatio Carter, delivered January 28 and February 4, 1834

(it may be noted that there are no minutes for this second evening but newspaper accounts vouch for its taking place). The Canadian Courant reported that Carter, lately from England, had a "crowded audience in the rooms of the Philomathic Society." It may be that curiosity about the latest scientific experimentation contributed to this response. The advertisement for the course read:

A member of this Institution .. will offer a few observations illustrated by experiments, on the natures and properties of the Oxygen and Hydrogen gases; their combinations with each other, and the peculiar effects resulting from their union; the Oxyhydrogen Blowpipe, the intense heat produced by it, and the improved safety Tube, invented by John Hemming, Esq. (Vice-President of the London M.I.) will be exhibited and explained.⁹⁰

There was a note of thanks the following meeting and it was announced that Carter was returning to England and would bring out books, apparatus, etc. for the institute.

At its penultimate meeting held March 24, 1835 the institute established a committee of three to call on Reverend William Taylor and ask him to deliver a series of lectures on astronomy. The period of dormancy which followed most likely prevented the delivery of any such lectures.

(7) An Experimental Workshop and Laboratory

According to the institute's petition of 1831 this was one of the elements of the program which had to be foregone because of the lack of finances.

E. The Membership of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute

The Montreal Mechanics' Institute had its opening meeting November 21, 1828. After that date it sought to enroll members and on January 6, 1829 resolved that members would be allowed to enter without being subject to ballot until February 1st of that year. After the initial enrollment of members there were no new members proposed until April 21, 1829. Similarly regulations governing Corresponding Members were adopted December 9, 1828 and the first Corresponding members were balloted on December 23, 1828.

In an appendix I have endeavored to list all of the persons whose names appear in any capacity in connection with the Montreal Mechanics' Institute. I have divided the list in such a way that one may see those who joined before the second Half-Yearly Meeting of July 13, 1830 when 140 ordinary members were reported, those who joined during the subsequent period of difficulties until the activities of the institute ceased on July 5, 1831, and those who joined after the new start of November 20, 1831. Although the lists may not include a number of persons who joined during the initial open enrollment, paid dues and did not take part in any of the activities of the institute or hold any office, such persons would not be of significance.

The number of 140 members reported on July 13, 1830 is probably the most accurate count to be found; it is certainly preferable to the optimistic guess of the institute's collector, James Allison, when he

reported 200 members one year previously. At the earlier date I can identify a mere 79 or 80 members. The report to the new Mechanics' Institute in 1840 listed 80 members, but whether they were in good standing is not reported. Perhaps it represents the membership as it stood in early 1835. In any case the new institute enrolled only 24 members of the former institution.

Although it is not clear whether there was a second period during late 1831 when members could join without being balloted, the numbers found up to July 13, 1830 correspond closely to the figure of 140 members given at that time. This fact strongly suggests that certain members, whose names are not found in the early period, and yet, who appear later without being balloted, probably benefited from such a period or were invited to join during the latter part of 1831. I have added references from one list to the other that permit one to determine which members belonged to the institute throughout its history.

It is clear when one examines the minutes of the institute that theories of social control would be difficult to substantiate. Indeed, the history of other institutions, particularly the churches of the first half of the century in Montreal, render such theories problematic. J. Greenlaw and P. Orr, in a thesis prepared for the McGill Business History Project, avow that

it was invariably artisans and small bourgeois, and occasionally rising elements of the bourgeoisie, who initiated change in the structure of Presbyterianism in Montreal.⁹¹

They are quite specific in this analysis deeming that

the splits which occurred in the Presbyterian church in Montreal, in 1803, 1821, 1831 and 1844, reflected the growth of artisanal and new bourgeois elements in the Scottish community of the city.⁹²

Indeed, I have found that one might extend this analysis to include the beginnings of the Methodist Church in 1803, the Baptist Church in 1829, the Congregational Church and the Secession Presbyterian Church in 1831. Jane Greenlaw has examined the seven nonconformist churches in Montreal for the period 1825 through 1842. She concludes that although there were significant differences in social composition all seven were dominated by the "popular classes." Within this term she includes non-commissioned officers and soldiers, peasants, farmers and agricultural workers, tradespeople (including small merchants, grocers, carters and pedlars), skilled workers, and the unskilled. While the skilled trades dominated the unskilled trades were underrepresented.⁹³

In all of this one must always recognize that there were other factors present, but it was the members of the social class which included artisans and small shopkeepers that provided the impetus for the beginning of these congregations and sustained them. Indeed, Greenlaw points out that in 1839 the skilled tradesmen of the Session of Erskine Church voted to allow the matter of temperance to be an individual responsibility rather than an element of Church discipline. This led to the departure of three merchants, two of whom later were members of the Free Church Committee.⁹⁴

If one looks ahead to the Free Church movement of 1844 the same phenomenon may be seen. The twelve men who made up the Free Church Committee were characterized by the St. Gabriel Street Church as follows:

Three or four of the members are very young men; four or five are respectable mechanics; three of them are master tradesmen; one a Physician of not very old standing, while the others are clerks in the mercantile houses of this city. The two leading and most influential members are Mr. Redpath and Mr. Orr, who have been active and useful citizens ... ⁹⁵

One may see that the support for the new Free Church congregation which rivaled Esson's St. Gabriel Street congregation was found in large part in the lower-middle class.

In a study of the work and organization of the British and Foreign Bible Society in British North America Judith Fingard remarks that it

attracted the figurehead patronage of colonial governors, officials and the commercial elite ... because acceptance of posts in such societies was seen to be fashionable in England where they drew support from a broad spectrum of the upper and middle classes of Eng'land ... ⁹⁶

She contends, however, and in my opinion rightly so, that

the active members of local societies (were) usually drawn from a slightly lower rung on the social ladder. ⁹⁷

This picture certainly is in accord with Bosworth's remarks in 1839 that the institute's membership was mostly "artisans, by whom its affairs were chiefly conducted." ⁹⁸ Indeed, despite J.-C. Robert's claim that Horatio Gates "helped found the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal" ⁹⁹ it

is unclear what role if any that he had within the institute. The same could be said for John Molson Sr. and other members of the Executive who do not appear other than in a titular capacity. The Honourable Louis Gugy appeared at the meeting of March 31, 1829 to thank members for his election as President the previous December 16th. Although Gugy was re-elected annually and was Chairman of the Education Committee established in early 1829 his contribution to the institute's life is similarly difficult to judge.

It may well be that the early members of the executive of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute were chosen because they were patrons of non-Anglican education in Montreal.¹⁰⁰ Horatio Gates, for example, who was President of the British and Canadian School Society from its founding in 1822 until his death in 1834 and of the Montreal Infant School, was elected Second Vice-President in 1828, First Vice-President in 1831, 1832 and 1834. John Molson Sr., who was President of the Society for the Advancement of Industry and Education, was elected Third Vice-President in 1828, 1831 and 1832, and Fourth Vice-President in 1830. The Honourable L.-J. Papineau, who was elected First Vice-President in 1828 and Third Vice-President in 1830, was a Vice-President of the British and Canadian School Society. F.-A. Larocque who was elected Second Vice-President in 1830, was also a Vice-President of the British and Canadian School Society.

Who then were the promoters of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute? To find an answer to this question I propose that one should look closely at

those who were active in its formation, the members of the Committee to draw up a Constitution and Laws for the Government of the Institution, those who were Collectors in the suburbs and Town, along with a glance at those who formed the Committee on Education, the General Committee elected December 16, 1829, and those members who were ready to present papers and models, etc., during the first months of the institute's history.

The results of such an examination suggests that the promoters of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute included the following persons: Teavill Appleton, builder, William Boster, painter, Joseph Brunsdon, joiner, Acheson Clarke, engineer, Joseph Clarke, builder, Robert Cleghorn, gardener, John Cliff, joiner, Reverend Henry Esson, Alex Gray, auctioneer, Aaron Phillip Hart, lawyer, John Henderson, civil engineer, George Holman, navigator, William A. Holwell, ordinance officer, James Poet, cooper, George Savage, watchmaker, William Shand, builder, Alexander Stevenson, surveyor, John Try, carpenter, Charles Wand, bricklayer, Guy and Joseph Warwick, founders. There were others who would join themselves to this nucleus, such was James Allison. Others would drop out. Indeed, this may have been the case early with John Bennett and the Warwick brothers. What is noticeable, however, is that with some exceptions, such as Esson and Hart, and later Allison, the group is made up of master craftsmen, who were employers of labour, rather than those who worked for wages. This appears to be true of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute throughout its life. Moreover, most of the members had sufficient social standing that vital statistics

concerning them and their families can be traced in the Montreal newspapers.

The question of how one should define the words "artisan" and "mechanic" is difficult. On the one hand, one may find references which include as a mechanic one such as James O'Donnell, architect of Notre-Dame Church, who received £375 (\$1,500) a year. Lewis Willcocks in his letter of recommendation to the Building Committee on April 28, 1824 wrote

he is spoken of by men of science as well as practical mechanics as a very honourable mechanic of great talents in his line.¹⁰¹

O'Donnell himself implied that some knowledge and understanding of a trade beyond mere experience is involved in the title mechanic in his letter of April 2, 1827 to the Building Committee

The Canadian workman smokes his pipe, sings his song, piles stone upon stone, towering to the clouds, without solidarity or a justness of proportion and knows not the cause the combines them. Generations must pass away before your workmen can produce one mechanic until there are (sic) a change.¹⁰²

On the other hand, there would appear to have been an attempt to claim the title "mechanic" for those who were generally referred to as journeymen. This may be seen best in the rise of the Mechanics' Mutual Protection Society of Montreal in 1833-1834. The Vindicator referred to "the many advantages taken of the working mechanic." To this the Gazette countered that it was a trade dispute between "Masters" and "journeymen carpenters and joiners" to be settled by "long established custom." The Vindicator responded "it is well known masters and mechanics in Montreal are diametrically opposed." The

call to journeymen cordwainers was a "call upon our fellow Mechanics to meet ... to adopt such measures as may seem best calculated for their mutual protection."¹⁰³ In these instances there would seem to be a deliberate attempt to appropriate the title "mechanic" to the journeymen.

The case for social control also fails of conviction when one examines the history of the General Committee. It was to be composed of a President, four Vice-Presidents, a Recording Secretary, a Corresponding Secretary, a Treasurer and thirty Committeemen. Twenty of the thirty Committeemen were to come from the "operative classes." This group was to have "the care, superintendence and control" of the institute. To this end it was to meet every Monday.

An examination of the first seven months of the committee's history after the election of December 16, 1828 shows that it met very irregularly. It held ten known meetings (December 22, 29, 1828 and January 12, 19, March 16, 23, 30, April 6, 13, and May 11, 1829). It is likely that it met July 6, 1829 to prepare for elections and to present a report. It could not meet on two occasions (January 26 and February 16) because no one attended and it did not meet on ten other dates (April 20, 27, May 4, 18, 25, June 1, 8, and 29, 1829). For another eight dates it is unknown whether it met (January 5, February 2, 9, 23, March 2, 9, June 15, and 22, 1829).

The General Committee elected July 7, 1829 was no better in its attendance. The only known meetings were July 13, 27, August 3, and probably September 14, October 12 and January 11, 1830. It did not meet July 20, August 10 (no quorum), and September 7. Indeed, in spite of a reduction in the numbers required for a quorum from 9 to 7 members on September 15, 1829 (ratified on September 29) there was no meeting of the General Committee on October 5, or 19; in the latter instance "want of quorum" was noted. In other words, throughout the period of the Hart affair and all during the period when rumors circulated about Esson's character, from mid September 1829 through to January 1830, there may have been no meeting of the General Committee.

The members of the institute appear to have been ready to operate without their General Committee and took several actions that one would have expected to have come from the latter. One instance that may be mentioned is the establishment of a committee to find a Librarian on February 17, 1829. Another is the Committee on Education instituted March 24, 1829. Yet again the committee on Weekly Topics was formed July 14, 1829. For their own comfort the members acted November 3, 1829 to purchase firewood, noting that there had been no meeting of the General Committee since October 12. The committee on Rooms for the institute reported to the members as did the committee on the Library and Museum. It is, therefore, surprising to find that there was a constitutional challenge to the Management Committee and a call for a general meeting on rules 65 and 66 on July 14, 1829. I have

been unable to discover the basis of the disagreement but it may have been related to meeting topics and classes.¹⁰⁴

Although there does not appear to have been an active attempt to recruit French-Canadian members there were several among the original members. These include in addition to the Honourable L.-J. Papineau, J.-M. Arnault machinist, J.-B. Franchère clockmaker, J.-T. Gaudet commissary clerk, the brothers-in-law F.-A. Larocque and J. Quesnel businessman and lawyer respectively. Moreover, Louis Boudreau navigator, Joseph Courcelle (dit Chevalier) builder, T.-A. Cuvillier businessman, Venant Roy Lapensée of Lachine, Joseph Lamontagne meat inspector, Joseph Therrien, J.-R. Pommainville, W.-J. Pommainville clockmaker, C.-S. Rodier merchant and Dr. G. Vallée joined during the first year. Their presence may be indicative of the liberal reform political stance of many of the Institute's members.

At the first Annual Meeting held January 12, 1830 both Papineau and Larocque were elected to the executive, while Arnault, Franchère and J.-R. Pommainville were elected to the General Committee. After translating the report presented at the meeting the editor of La Minerve remarked on February 4, 1830

... ce ne sont pas des Canadiens que nous ont donné l'exemple de l'institution dont nous venons de parler. Cependant nous apprenons que plusieurs de nos jeunes concitoyens se sont joints à cette association.¹⁰⁵

In the second year A.-H. Baron, J.-B. Castonguay, I.-E. Decasse carpenter, P. Lachapel and Captain P.-H. Morin joined the institute.

Several of the persons named to this point were active in the Montreal Agricultural Society, the British and Canadian School, and the Notre-Dame Church building committee. Although a few French-Canadians continued to have some relationship to the institute, the political differences, that were increasingly pronounced from the early 1830s, led to less fraternizing between the two language groups. The resignation of John Fisher, Popular Party member of the House of Assembly for the Montreal West Ward March 26, 1832, and his support for the American-born Stanley Bagg's candidacy against Dr. Daniel Tracey, typifies the realignment that was taking place. Jules Quesnel, who was elected Second Vice-President of the Mechanics' Institute in 1833, was one of the French-Canadians who broke with Papineau in the early 1830s and advocated retention of the constitutional status quo.

The activities of the first three years of the Institute's life would appear to have had many items of interest to those who were engaged in the building trades. One can readily understand this, given that the major events of the 1820s were the construction of the Lachine and Rideau canals and the erection of Notre-Dame Church. Brian Young gives the following interpretation of what was taking place in the 1820s and 1830s:

By the early years of the nineteenth century, ... some artisans and merchants were making the transition to an industrial mode of production.¹⁰⁶

While many masons, carpenters and joiners slipped from artisanry into wage labour, others accumulated fortunes in the large transportation and institutional construction projects that

characterized Montreal as it industrialized.¹⁰⁷

Notre-Dame and the Lachine Canal were the first of Montreal's 'mega' construction projects and were important means by which contractors like Redpath, Phillips and Bagg accumulated capital and moved away from artisanal modes.¹⁰⁸

The city underwent a virtual transformation in the 1830s, such that Bosworth could write in 1839:

Those who knew the city seven years ago, and have not seen it since, were they to visit it now, would be surprised at the change, and be scarcely able to recognize the places with which they were once familiar. Beside a multitude of new and elegant houses, in almost every part of the city and suburbs, large spaces and several streets have been considerably improved ... The recent houses are almost universally built of the greyish limestone which the vicinity of the mountain affords in abundance ...¹⁰⁹

The interest evinced in the new building materials had manifest itself in the face of the city.

Another development to be seen in the later years in the history of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute is the appearance of the new professions. In May 1834 both Joseph Clarke and John Wells gave notice that they were severing their ties to the construction business.¹¹⁰ Henceforth Clarke would act as an architectural surveyor and evaluator while Wells would function as an architect only. Later John Cliff who conducted the Drawing classes at the Institute in 1833 would do the same.¹¹¹ Thomas Phillips had attempted the same thing as early as 1817 and had donated the plan for the Montreal General Hospital, but then was involved in the brewery and construction business again.¹¹² Other architects found

among the new members in the period after 1832 were Henry Perry, and Francis Thompson. Surveyors included: John Hughes, and John Ostel, later an architect of note in Montreal, as well as Alex Stevenson and Donald Livingston of Mount Johnson from the early part of the Institute's history. There were also two Drawing Masters Robert Howden and John Wilson, who would train future architects.

Similarly, the engineering profession began to emerge with the building of the canals and railroads. Concurrent with the time of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute were the Rideau and Chambly canals and the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad. Among those who joined were the following engineers: John Baird, William Calvert, Eliah B. Johnson, Obadiah Johnson, George Murray and Arthur Smith. One might also mention in this same connection Thomas Radcliff, clerk of the works with the Royal Engineers.

The demands of business were also seen in the new professions related to the discharge of duties required by the larger organizations which were forming. Thomas H. Bromley, James E. Dudderidge and Samuel Snedden were bookkeepers. W.E. Fletcher was listed as a writer, that is, a Secretary.

These occupations represent the beginnings of the new middle class. Many of those who aspired to these posts rose from the lower middle class. It may be suggested that one can construct a ladder of social mobility which led from the artisan and skilled worker through small

merchant, represented by grocer, bookseller, auctioneer, tobacconist, and the rising professions of architecture, surveying, teaching, bookkeeping, etc., to the professions, law, medicine, theology. In this is to be found their ties to the artisan and mechanics who were members of the Mechanics' Institute.

F. *Appreciation of the Educational Activity of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute*

When the activities of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute are examined it can be seen that the educational context is very pertinent and that the desire to provide cultural facilities and education for a particular segment of the population may be taken as the foremost aim of the Institute. This desire manifested itself in two ways: first, in a form of mutual instruction and intellectual stimulus among the adult members of the Institute as well as in lectures and a library, and secondly, in a school for youth. The former activities were more continuous than the latter, in spite of the difficulties which interrupted the operation of the Institute, but there are indications that the number of persons who took advantage of the opportunity to meet and exchange with each other on a variety of topics was at times small.

The school for youth clearly relates to the rise of schooling in the city and the province. Its failure to appear until late in 1833 was due to the divisions which appeared in Montreal society and particularly among the artisans, mechanics and small shopkeepers. When it did appear it was more limited in the range of education provided and the clientele

envisaged, than the original proposal, due to the rise of private venture schools for the sons of members of the lower-middle class.

In deciding how to evaluate the work of Montreal Mechanics' Institute one must be careful not to approach the task with assumptions and expectations which do not fit the period under discussion. One may recall, for example, that the Canadian Education and Home Missionary Society College founded in early 1833 attracted only three students at a time when McGill College had not yet opened. Similarly, the Montreal Normal School which functioned from September 5, 1837 to February 23, 1842 had a total of nineteen students during this period, some of them for a very short time. In fact, only four of the latter received the certificate of the school. When measured by this standard the twenty-five apprentices who joined the elementary classes and the seven students in the drawing class of the Institute in late 1833 and the early part of 1834 is significant.

The Montreal Mechanics' Institute illustrates very well the proposition that the ban on discussion of religion and politics in the Mechanics' Institutes was related to practical functioning rather than to any theory of social control. Religion was a very divisive matter in the early 1830s as Montreal's lower middle class realigned itself. One can see in the gesture of Peter McGill and John Redpath, when they refused to turn the newly constructed St Paul's Church over to the congregation's trustees without assurances that it would not harbor the United Presbyterians,¹¹³ how tenuous adherence to denominational ties was thought to be.

Certainly it was this alliance of religion and politics that lay at the heart of much of the difficulty experienced by the Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

Notes to Chapter Five

1. D.C.B. viii, p. 460.
2. Ibid., pp 462-4.
3. P.J. Bowler, The Early Development of Scientific Societies in Canada, p. 337 n.12.
4. Canadian Courant Dec. 22, 1830 report of Second Meeting; ibid., Dec. 24, report of meeting of Dec. 16, with ten resolutions; Irish Vindicator, Dec. 14, 1830, "We are happy to see that this institution has originated with our countrymen"; ibid., Jan. 28, 1831, editorial and letter of Dr. E.B. O'Callaghan.
5. Canadian Courant, Feb. 2, 1831, "A few lectures on Geometry, and its applications to mechanics, will be delivered by a member, in the Rooms of the Institution, St. James Street. The first lecture will be delivered this evening at Eight o'clock."
6. Voir D. Tracey's editorial cited infra.
7. Sessional Records loc. cit. p. 70f.
8. Ibid. p. 139f.
9. L.-P. Audet, Le système scolaire de la province de Québec tome v, p. 129.
10. For these grants voir ibid. pp. 205f. (1832), 230-2 (1833), 255f. (1834), 266, 268f. (1835-36); op. cit. tome vi, pp. 21f. (1838), 23-5 (1839).
11. Vindicator Mar. 11, 1831, letter of E. F.
12. Acts and Proceedings of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1831 p. 12.
13. Canadian Courant Apr. 2, 1831.

14. Voir infra for a lecture at a meeting that was not minuted.
15. Voir B. Tunis, Medical Education and Medical Licensing in Lower Canada, Demographic Factors, Conflict and Social Change.
16. Canadian Courant Mar. 10, 1832.
17. R. Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church. p. 358; Canadian Courant Dec. 28, 1831, Montreal Gazette Dec. 29, 1831 re: Black.
18. Acts and Proceedings of the Synod of the Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1832, p. 31f.
19. Voir infra.
20. Montreal Gazette Apr. 23, 1832.
21. Canadian Courant, Sept. 26, 1832.
22. I have taken the following list of topics from the newspapers.
Wed. Sept. 26, 1832, First meeting: Are Debating Societies Beneficial?
Wed. Oct. 24, 1832, Fourth meeting: Should punishment by death be totally abolished?
Nov. 7, 1832: Do riches benefit mankind?
Dec. 5, 1832: Was the treatment of Mary Queen of Scots, by Elizabeth, justifiable under any circumstances?
Dec. 12, 1832: Was the treatment of Napoleon Bonaparte by the allies justifiable considering the peculiar situation of Europe?
Dec. 19, 1832: Are theatrical exhibitions beneficial to the community?
Dec. 26, 1832: Was the treatment of Napoleon ...
Jan. 2, 1833: Is imprisonment for debt justifiable?
Jan. 9, 1833: Should imprisonment for debt be abolished?
Jan. 16, 1833: Should novel reading be encouraged?
Jan. 23, 1833: In which of the undermentioned situations of life, is mankind most likely to enjoy the greatest proportion of happiness - Agricultural, Commercial, Professional, or Mechanical?
Jan. 30, 1833: Which is more useful to mankind, the Art of Painting or the Art of Navigation?

Feb. 20, 1833: Which has conferred the greatest benefit on their respective countries, Julius Caesar, Napoleon Bonaparte, or Oliver Cromwell?

Mar. 6, 1833: Which confers more benefit on this Colony, the emigrant who brings a large capital, or he who brings a large family, of poor and industrious children?

Mar. 20, 1833: Is it possible for a man to exercise disinterested Benevolence?

Mar. 27, 1833: Is the conduct of Brutus in condemning his own son to death for rebellion to be praised or blamed?

Apr. 24, 1833: Has the introduction of Europeans among savage nations benefitted the latter?

Dec. 4, 1833: Should not apparel as a symbol of mourning be abolished?

23. E.g., Dec. 26, 1833 "at its rooms next door to the Post Office;" Feb. 4, 1834 the lecture by Horatio Carter was said to have been "in the rooms of the Philomathic Society."

24. Voir Canadian Courant Feb. 15, Mar. 6, 1833.

25. Vindicator, June 27, 1834.

26. D.C.B., vol. vii, p. 701. In March 1830 the Natural History Society looked at the possibility of renting a large room in the same building as the Post Office and Mechanics' Institute, because its quarters were becoming too small for its growing museum. At a Special Meeting, Apr. 9, 1830, it decided to stay at Cunningham's.

27. The Early History of Montreal, p. 87.

28. Op. cit., Feb. 11, 1840.

29. T. Kelly, George Birkbeck: Pioneer of Adult Education, p. 88f.

30. M. Verrette, L'alphabetisation de la population de la ville de Québec de 1750 à 1849, p. 73, notes a rise in literacy rate among independent artisans from 70% in the 1810s to 81.2% in the 1840s but a much lower attainment for other artisans with the literacy rate actually declining from 39.4% in the 1800s to 31.8% in the 1840s.

31. A Petition of the Officers and Members of the Quebec Mechanics' Institute, Sessional Papers Feb. 9, 1831. The petition stated that "the first Public Meeting of the Society ... took place on the first day of February, one thousand eight hundred and

thirty-one, and that the present number of Members is nearly one hundred, of whom the greater portion are working Mechanics."

32. Cited T. Doige, An Alphabetical List of Merchants, Traders and Householders Residing in Montreal 1819-1820, p. 142. V. Morin, Les Cahiers des Dix, vol 14, p. 194, gives a list of the promoters.

33. Voir M. Benjamin, McGill Medical Library, 1829-1929, p. 8.

34. Voir A.W.P. Buchanan, The Bench and Bar of Lower Canada down to 1850, p. 123f., for details of the correspondence and the committee's reply to the proposal.

35. First Minute Book of the Natural History Society of Montreal, pp. 250-252 and their Third Annual Report. For the Society see S.B. Frost, Science education in the nineteenth century: The Natural History Society of Montreal 1827-1925.

36. Y. Lamonde, Les Archives de l'Institut Canadien de Montréal (1844-1900), p. 77f.

37. Voir S.M. Robertson, The Institut Canadien, an Essay in Cultural History, pp. 2, 30.

38. T.C. Keefer, Montreal, p. 6.

39. J. Menard, L'Institut des artisans du Comté de Drummond, 1856-1890, p. 209f.

40. Rev. A.-C.-G. Desmazures, Entretien sur les arts industriels, p. 1.

41. J.-B. Meilleur, Mémorial de l'éducation du Bas-Canada, p. 168f., cited by M. Lajeunesse, Les cabinets de lecture, p. 245f.

42. This would appear to be especially true of the Royal Grammar School despite the requirement to admit twenty free scholars. E.I. Rexford et al., The History of the High School of Montreal, p. 5, stated, "In reference to free scholarships the principle was laid down that the Royal Institution was desirous of recommending only those whose parents from rank or station in society had just grounds to desire a classical education for their sons."

43. Voir N. Voisine, Les Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes au Canada, p. 35f.; L.-P. Audet, Le système scolaire de la Province de Québec, tome 11, p. 331.
44. A. Dufour, Diversité institutionnelle et fréquentation scolaire dans l'Ile de Montréal en 1825 et en 1835, p. 521.
45. Ibid., p. 532.
46. Ibid., p. 533.
47. L.-P. Audet, op. cit., tome v, p. 86f.; and Histoire de l'enseignement au Québec, p. 360, arrives at the figure of 48 schools in 1829, and 68 schools plus 14 run by the Congregation de Notre-Dame in 1830.
48. Voir La Bibliothèque Canadian, July 1829, which contains the "remarks of a voyageur" who noted that several large parishes in the Three Rivers District were without a French elementary school. He found English schools at Sorel and Rivière-du-Loup as well as flourishing French schools at St. Grégoire and St. François.
49. Data derived from L.-P. Audet, op. cit., tome v., p. 138-141, and tome vi, p. 6f. (cf. Vindicator Feb. 7, 1831 which gives a different set of figures for 1831).
50. Voir Appendix A. The list of subjects was found in Ms. Dufour's thesis and has been compared with, and corrected in part, using the advertisements appearing in the Montreal press.
51. L.-P. Audet, op. cit., tome v, p. 14 for teaching of additional subjects by the Congregation de Notre-Dame; p. 36f. for the founding of schools to counter the opening of Lancastrian schools; tome vi, p. 43 for Bishop Lartigue's proposal to open 'une école technique' cited infra; p. 43ff. for changes to the curriculum of the classical colleges to meet the challenge of the Protestant academies.
52. A. Labarrère-Paule, Les instituteurs laïque au Canada français 1836-1900, p. 42.
53. Ibid., p. 37f. Voir D.C.B. vol. x, p. 506 and L.-P. Audet, Jean-Baptiste Meilleur était-il un candidat valable au poste de Surintendant de l'Education du Bas-Canada en 1842?

54. Voir C. Macmillan, McGill and its Story, 1821-1921, p. 97.
55. Voir D.C.B. vol. vii, p. 824. For the names of some of the English students see W.H. Atherton, The History of Montreal, p. 357f.
56. The account of the ceremony in C. Macmillan, op. cit., reproduced from the Montreal Gazette reads "Among the company we noticed several officers of the government, the principal members of the Bar, the lecturers at the Montreal Medical Institution and several gentlemen, more or less connected with the proposed College." (my underlining)
Ironically this may have been the last time that Esson and Black would collaborate until the 1840s. Esson had appeared before the House of Assembly Committee on Education, Jan. 27, 1829, on behalf of the Church of Scotland and in support of a petition from St. Andrew's Church, Quebec. Possibly as a result of criticism of the Royal Institution, and the repeal of the English Test Acts and Conventicle Act in 1828, as well as the evidence given before the British House of Commons Committee in the summer of 1828 the Church of England was on the defensive. St. Andrew's School was opened and received an annual grant from the House of Assembly; the Church of Scotland clergy in Montreal were appointed visitors to the Royal Institution schools; the Reverend Alexander Gale, Esson's nephew was appointed Schoolmaster of the Royal Institution school at Lachine; and the Reverend James Harkness, Church of Scotland minister at Quebec was appointed to the Board of the Royal Institution.
57. Voir N. Mair, Canadian Education and Home Missionary Society.
58. B. Tunis, Medical Education and Medical Licensing in Lower Canada ..., p. 83.
59. A.W.P. Buchanan, op. cit., p. 46. There appears to have been earlier attempt to form an Advocates Library at Montreal in 1814, which was foiled by S. Sewell. Although his brother Jonathan Sewell and James Monk had led the way in the codification of court rules as early as 1809, Stephen Sewell labelled the nascent advocates' society "Jacobin." Voir D.C.B., vol. vi, p. 701
One may wonder if the example of the Montreal Medical Institution was influential in this and subsequent developments.
60. D.C.B., vol. vi p. 584f.; Voir also A.W.P. Buchanan op. cit., p. 82.
61. A.W.P. Buchanan, op. cit., p. 123f., for the correspondence of Chief Justice Reid and the response.

62. B. Tunis, op. cit., p. 69. One should extend the remarks to cover not only medicine but also law. For examples of the rise one may cite: L.-J. Papineau, J. Stevenson, A.F. Holmes, Archibald Hall; for examples of consolidation of status: E.Q. Sewell, S.C. Sewell, S.C. Monk, etc.

63. Voir Appendix A.

64. D.C.B., vol. vi p. 260.

65. E.A. Talbot, Five Years' Residence in the Canadas, pp. 282-284.

66. The six schools were run by:

Mme. Toussaint Cherrier in St. Louis suburb with French mixed classes;

Mrs. William Bell in St. Lawrence suburb with Bilingual mixed classes;

Mrs. E. Byrne in St. Joseph suburb with English mixed classes;

Mr. James Fraser in Ste. Anne suburb;

Misses Read in the Old City with English mixed classes;

Miss Charlotte Burroughs in the Old City.

67. These sixteen schools were:

Mrs. Marshall and Miss Brooks (extended elementary) in Quebec suburb with Bilingual Mixed classes;

Mrs. J. Forster in St. Joseph suburb with French mixed class;

Mrs. A. Trudeau's Academy in the Old City with Bilingual mixed classes;

Miss M. Grant (extended elementary) in the Old City with English girls class;

Mrs. J. Lesperance (elementary) with Bilingual mixed class;

Miss M.A. Fisher (elementary) with English mixed class;

Mrs. M.E. Rae in St. Louis suburb with English girls class;

Miss J. MacDonald in St. Louis suburb with English girls class;

Miss Turner in St. Lawrence suburb with English girls class;

Mrs. M.A. Pringle in St. Lawrence suburb with English mixed class;

Mr. Jos. Rogers (extended elementary) in St. Lawrence suburb with English mixed class;

Miss E.M. Easton in St. Joseph suburb with English mixed class;

Miss Torrance in the Old City with Bilingual mixed class;

Mrs. Fitzgerald in the Old City with English mixed class;

Mrs. A.C. Fleming in the Old City with English girls class;

Mr. S. Scanlan in the Old Town with English boys class;

With the exception of those noted the schools offered secondary education.

68. Verrette, art. cit., p. 75

69. For the decline in apprenticeship voir F. Ouellet, Structure des occupations et ethnicité ...; J.-P. Bernard et al., La structure professionnelle de Montréal en 1825, p. 400f., think that the numbers may have been deliberately understated by the census because apprentices were exempt from corvée.

70. R. Tremblay, La nature des procès de travail à Montréal entre 1790 et 1830, p. 103.

71. Voir n. 53 supra.

72. Cited L.-P. Audet op. cit., tome vi, p. 43.

73. Bibliothèque Canadien June 1828, and D.C.B. vi p. 300.

74. Voir Irish Vindicator, Mar. 27, 1829 (citing the Gazette) report of an experiment at Lachine re: the causes of cahots. The ordinance of 1840 is the subject of an article by Stephen Kenny ('Cahots' and Catcalls: An Episode of Popular Resistance in Lower Canada at the Outset of the Union).

75. Minute Book Sept. 15, 1829, Voir D.C.B., viii p. 363f. Hart was known for his "panache". Another instance is related in connection with the 1832 by-election. Voir Vindicator Apr. 13, 1832, "After him (i.e., Cuvillier) Mr. Aaron Philip Hart, a young gentleman of this city, presented himself to the meeting several times but could not get a hearing. Mr. Hart's well known effrontery has given such general disgust that all classes of the public seem determined to discountenance him. He was cried down with the most clamorous opposition."

He joined the Natural History Society of Montreal in May 1831.

76. Cf. London's Royal Institution. In 1800 Thomas Webster taught a class of about a dozen mechanics 'of the building class' and was to follow up the practical application of Count Rumford's 'philosophical principles respecting the improvement of fire places, and all that related to heat in warming and ventilating buildings'. Citation from T. Martin, Early Years at the Royal Institution.

77. Canadian Courant, Dec. 14, 1833, cited infra.

78. Op. cit., p. 12f.

79. Voir R. Tremblay, La nature des procès de travail à Montréal entre 1790 et 1830, p. 112, where he cited a notorial contract, dated May 31, 1830, in the records of George D. Arnoldi for John Fellows to produce the inking machine of William John Spence. C. Galarneau, Les métiers du livre à Québec 1764 à 1859, p. 160, cited La Gazette du Québec 4 janvier 1833 "Thomas Tweddle (ou Tweedle), forgeron devenu propriétaire d'une fonderie en 1830, annonce trois ans après qu'il fabrique et vend des Spence patent machine press and self-inking machine."

80. F. Toker, The Church of Notre-Dame in Montreal, p. 47f., describes the raising of the sixteen nave columns stating that "they were probably raised with the aid of a primitive hoisting device called a 'gin-pole' in the autumn of 1826.

81. Minute Book July 28, 1829. Huddell's hotel burned; voir Irish Vindicator Mar. 3, 1829, Canal Hotel destroyed by fire. It is doubtful whether he should be considered déclassé in the sense that this is used by M. Lajeunesse, Les cabinets de lectures à Paris et à Montréal au XIXe siècle, p. 243.

82. First Annual Report of the N.H.S., Mar. 26, 1828, printed in Canadian Spectator June 4, 1828. Voir also A.W.P. Buchanan op. cit.

83. Fourth Annual Report, Mercantile Library Association.

84. M. Benjamin, McGill Medical Library 1829-1929, p. 48.

85. H. Esson, Answer of the Rev. Henry Esson, to the charges and statement of a committee of the session of St. Gabriel Street Church, Montreal (Montreal 1832).

86. Ibid. Voir Canadian Courant, Nov. 3, 1832. Evening Drawing Academy - Mr. Duncan and Mr. Howden, will open an Evening Drawing Class at their Academy, at St. Vincent St., on 1st November, where in addition to the usual branches of drawing, will be taught Architecture and Planning, together with the course of Mechanical Drawing, comprehending the most critical parts of joinery, such as the structure of roofs and cupolas, covering of solids, hand railings, etc. etc. A course of Mathematics embracing such parts as belong more particular to the above studies, will be taught in the Academy. 7-8:30 Mon., Tues., Thurs., Fri. 10s./mon. in advance.

87. Sessional Papers 1 Will. IV 1831 P. 70f., "owing to the limited means at the disposal of the Institution, it has of necessity been obliged to suspend the putting in operation (of) an Academy."

88. Compare the lectures by John Milton. He arrived in Montreal late in 1830. Jan. 27, 1831 he lectured at the British and Canadian School House on "Souls and the future existence of the brutes" to "a respectable audience." He announced a lecture for February 4 in the Mechanics' Institute room on "The importance of Female education," which had to be postponed to Feb. 11. The Vindicator reported that Milton intended to lecture on other subjects during the season at the Mechanic's Institute rooms. The third lecture announced, but not given, was on "Historical and Novel Reading." Feb. 13 it was announced that "In consequence of an engagement in the country Mr. Milton is sorry to find himself obliged to postpone indefinitely his lecture ..." Voir Canadian Courant Jan. 26, Feb. 9, 1831 and Vindicator Feb. 1, 8, 13, 1831.

89. Voir Irish Vindicator Dec. 14, 1830 and Oct. 5, 1831 and cf. letter of July 15, 1831.

One may wonder if the quashing of medical lectures by Nelson and Beaubien played a part in the dispute concerning the issue of a licence to McGill's first medical graduate. Voir B. Tunis, Medical Licensing in Lower Canada: The Dispute over Canada's First Medical Degree.

90. Cf. letter to the editor of the Courant, Feb. 12, 1834.

91. J. Greenlaw and P. Orr, A Study of Presbyterianism in Montreal (McGill Business History Project), p. i.

92. Ibid., p. iii. Cf., however, E.A. McDougall, The Presbyterian Church in Western Lower Canada, p. 160, "The Americans within the St. Peter St. Church were no longer the artisans of the city, but among the most wealthy and respected, of Montreal's business community. They were quite capable of building and supporting a church of their own and this they proceeded to do."

93. J. Greenlaw, 'Fractious Individuals': Protestant Non-Conformity in Montreal, 1828-1842, p. i.

94. Ibid., p. 169.

95. Statement of the Committee of the St. Gabriel Street Church, Detailing the History of the Recent Proceedings, p. 5 Cf. Vaudry, The Free Church in Canada, 1844-61, p. 101, citing L. Price, Introduction to the Social History of the Scots in Quebec, 1780-1840, "the Disruption in Montreal was the result of a movement of artisans, traders, and rising manufacturers in opposition to the established mercantile elite who supported the Church of Scotland." (There is similar wording in J. Greenlaw and P. Orr, op. cit. p. 28.) J. Greenlaw and P. Orr, op. cit. p. 24, "After Esson's departure, the leadership of the Free Church movement fell to the Free Church Committee, an organization composed of successful, rising master craftsmen, formed in 1844."

96. J. Fingard, 'Grapes in the Wilderness': the Bible Society in British North America in the Early Nineteenth Century, pp. 9 and 7. Cf. G. Crossick, The Labour Aristocracy and its Values: a Study of Mid-Victorian Kentish London, p. 310, who points out that similar groups in England gained social approval and status recognition for themselves by appointing social leaders to executive positions.

97. Ibid., p. 9.

98. N. Bosworth, Hochelaga Depicta, p. 192f.

99. D.C.B., vi p. 279.

100. Cf. J. Fingard, English Humanitarianism and the Colonial Mind: Walter Bromley in Nova Scotia, 1813-25, p. 129, for a similar situation in connection with a British and Foreign Society School in Halifax.

101. F. Toker, op. cit., p. 48n.

102. Ibid., p. 43.

103. Vindicator, Feb. 25, 1834; Montreal Gazette, Mar. 4, 1834; Vindicator, Mar. 11, 1834. On April 22, 1834, the Vindicator opposed the terms "mechanic and workingman" to "gentleman." The Lavoie Hotel on St. Lawrence St., where most of the union meetings were held was known as the Mechanics' Hall. D.-T. Ruddell, Le main-d'oeuvre en milieu urbain au Bas-Canada, cites the Vindicator May 31, 1831 "the praiseworthy exertions that have been successfully made by the operatives of this (institut), to diminish their hours of labour would prove that the different classes are beginning to understand their interests. Let the operatives be united!" I suspect that

Riddell's citation attributed to the Mechanics' Institute, which I have been unable to trace, belongs in this setting.

104. See articles 71-73 in the 1833 Constitution.

105. Loc. cit.

106. B. Young, In its Corporate Capacity, p. xiii.

107. Ibid., p. 100.

108. Ibid., p. 165.

109. N. Bosworth, op. cit., p. 92f.

110. Canadian Courant Feb. 3, 1834 notice of dissolution of partnership between Joseph Clarke and Teavill Appleton. Montreal Gazette May 24, 1834, notice that John Wells was selling his building materials and would from that date work only as an architect.

111. On the 1842 census John Cliff is listed as an architect in the St. Lawrence ward.

112. Montreal Gazette Oct. 24, 1817 notice of dissolution of partnership of Phillips and Chevalier, Phillips offering his services as architect, surveyor and estimator.

113. D.C.B., vol. viii p. 543.

Chapter Six: The Mechanics' Institute of Montreal

This chapter deals with the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal from its founding Feb. 11, 1840 to the year 1870. I will follow some of the same headings as the last chapter in order that the similarities and differences may be seen. The first section is devoted to the history of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal. This is followed by a section which treats the educational context of the Institute, which is perhaps more important for the earlier portion of the history, but still remains relevant throughout the period. Next I will review the activities of the Institute. Following that I will treat its membership, and I will close with an appreciation of the Institute's educational significance.

A. The History of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal

The notice of meeting to re-organize and re-establish the Mechanics' Institute, which appeared Feb. 8, 1840, was signed by eleven men, of whom only five remained active in the management of the institute over the next several years. On the one hand, the newly formed Institute obtained considerable support from the British party members, now ascendant in Montreal. Montreal was the residence of the Governor-General, Charles Poulett Thomson, and the meeting place of the Special Council. This provided the Institute's President, John Redpath, access and opportunity to solicit the Governor's patronage and to obtain from the Council grants of £50. for each of the first two years. On the other hand, the new Institute sought to eliminate any "rivalry" from the former Institute, not by re-establishing it, but, by negotiating a merger. One may put forward several conjectures to explain this move, including, the desire to avoid assuming any financial obligations of the

first Institute, the Reform political stance of many of the members of the first Institute, and Redpath's antipathy toward Esson and his followers, demonstrated in his refusal in 1844-45 to base the Free Church movement on St. Gabriel St. Church. The early history of the second institute is filled with ambiguities that make a hypothesis of political involvement probable.

There are several difficulties in the first several years that may enter into such an explanation. The negotiations with the former Institute' executive were not concluded quickly. Then at the close of the year, the executive removed the names of John Smith, who may have been a member of the first Institute, and Joseph Roy from the slate of nominees for Vice-President on the pretext that the constitution did not permit a committee man to serve more than two consecutive terms. The question involved was whether this prevented one who had served two such terms from holding executive office. On appeal the executive was overruled and Smith elected First Vice-President, but he promptly resigned the post. Perhaps as a consequence the membership declined by over 160 members in 1841. Possibly also connected with this is a letter in Dec. 1842 to W. Buchanan stating that the books of the former Institute belonged to the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal by purchase and could not be withdrawn.

The Government had moved to Kingston in May 1841, where the Governor, now Lord Sydenham, died in September. The new Governor, Sir Charles Bagot, arrived in Canada in January 1842. There had been a Special Meeting of the Institute in November 1841 to prepare an

Address of Welcome and the Institute members paraded in his honor when he visited Montreal May 17, 1842. However, some of his appointments, including Vallières de St-Réal as Chief-Justice of Montreal district and J.-B. Meilleur as Superintendent of schools for Lower Canada, were dismaying to the British party. Then in September the Reformers led by Robert Baldwin and L.-H. Lafontaine took office as Executive councillors. Benjamin Holmes among others supported the inclusion of the French-Canadians in Government and the Montreal English-speaking community was divided. Sir Charles asked to be replaced in early 1843.

It was early in 1843 that John Smith, who had been at the heart of the disputed election in 1841, was elected President. The Institute held its first Festival on Feb. 16. Like other groups in the Montreal community at this time, the Institute made plans to set up a school. The Institute also moved in May into the house, which until then had been occupied by the Ladies Benevolent Society. This was a very controversial move. The total membership fell to 66 members, including the Life Members, by mid-year. At the end of the month of May, the Institute prepared an Address for the new Governor, Lord Metcalfe, and in August invited him to become Patron. Meanwhile, the Parliament voted to move the capital of the United Canadas and Montreal was chosen for the honors and the Reform Government resigned over the question of who controlled patronage.

Possibly civic pride, together with a need to bring together some of the English-speaking people to effect the school, were involved in the

decision to form a Committee to seek members on Sept. 12, 1843. The population of Montreal had grown by fifty percent since 1831 from 27,297 to 40,350. The Institute prepared an elaborate Public Lecture Program with printed prospectus, probably with the intent of gaining members. The proposal for a building to house all the literary and cultural institutes, which had been propounded by Alexandre Vattemare in November, 1840, arose again in March 1844. Late in the year after Parliament had moved to the city, French-speaking Montrealers met in the Natural History Society rooms to establish the Institut Canadien.

Concerns about suitable accommodation were always to the forefront in the General Committee. The first Committee had been able to lease adequate quarters in Mullins' new building on Commissioners Street for a period of three years at £58. per annum. These quarters permitted the Institute to arrange a Lecture Room, a Class Room, a Reading Room, a Library, and two private rooms for living quarters for the Librarian. In October 1840 Albert Furniss donated gas fixtures to light the Lecture Hall. There were inconveniences, however, such as Jan. 7, 1841, when a Special Meeting had to be cancelled because of "rising water." November 24, 1840, the Institute held a Special Meeting to consider, and enthusiastically approved, Alexandre Vattemare's scheme of a Grand National Institute which would encompass the institute, the Montreal Library and the Natural History Society. This would have involved the City building a new City Hall with the upper stories housing the literary institutions. The scheme was endorsed by the Special Council, which governed Lower Canada, but did not come to fruition. In April 1842, M.J. Hayes had offered rooms over the Waterworks at £40. per year for

nine years, which was declined because of the "lowness of funds." Mullins notified the Committee that he would require the rooms at the expiration of the lease.

Subsequent to this the General Committee of 1843, under the new President John Smith, arranged a lease on the house owned by A.M. Delisle on St. Urbain Street in St. Lawrence suburb, until then occupied by the Ladies Benevolent Society. The lease was for £90. per year, with the right to purchase the property for £1500. on five annual installments. There was considerable dissension about the move, and apparently considerable resentment on the part of the Ladies Society, which had installed sewer and water connections to the house. There was a Committee set up to seek shareholders for the purchase, while other members sought to have the Institute purchase a lot in Craig Street, owned by J. Torrance, for £1000. The Committee wrote to Mrs. S. Ogden stating that the Institute only required the basement and would sublet the upper rooms to them for £60. per year. The Society refused and found permanent quarters elsewhere. The editor of the Montreal Transcript apparently alluded to the difficulties when in describing the preparations for the 1844 Festival he wrote

... to render it harmonious, Mrs. Gibb has been engaged. This shows the right spirit on the part of our friends the workers, who, in their quiet and unobtrusive way, are making vast strides.

After advertising, the Committee, which had hoped to recover some of the outlay by rentals, was only able to lease two rooms for £20. per year. John Whitelaw was presented with a Life Membership for the gift of new front steps to the house.

The members of the Institute held a Special Meeting Jan. 10, 1844 to consider a permanent building. There had been an offer from Charles Garth, who intended to build in Craig Street and wanted a ten year rent guarantee. Mar. 4, there was the proposal of a building to house the Mechanics' Institute, the Natural History Society, and the Mercantile Library, which had purchased the Montreal Library. A small committee was established to confer with the other societies but the project did not materialize, possibly in part, because of the heavy debt assumed by the Mercantile Library Association. Space was at a premium because of the move of Government to Montreal in 1844. Faced with the necessity of finding other quarters, the Institute rented a portion of Thornton's building in Fortification Lane at £30. per year.

At the close of 1844 the Mechanics' Institute was again faced with a decision about quarters. It examined a prospectus on building, then considered the purchase of either the Congregational Chapel in St. Maurice St. or the Baptist Chapel in St. Helen St., as well as approaching the Odd Fellows about joint occupancy of their quarters. In January 1845, the members of the Institute agreed to seek shareholders for 1600 shares at £1. each and subscriptions for the purchase of either a building or a lot on which they might erect a building. For the ensuing year 1845-46 the Institute rented the third floor from Donoghue and Mantz, printers, at £45. per year. After Incorporation in the fall 1845, at the Institute canvassed the City by wards in January 1846 and circulated an address to the Mechanics of the City seeking their support.

The following year 1846-57 the Institute moved again to rooms leased from the Montreal Insurance Company. There was a leak of camphor oil in the quarters above the Institute in September 1846 that caused great annoyance to the members. Nonetheless, it was agreed Mar. 22, 1847 to settle the rent for the previous year and bargain for the next year. The negotiations may have been unsatisfactory because Apr. 12 it was agreed to seek "more suitable accommodation" and to call a General Meeting on the subject of erecting a building. On Dec. 6, 1847, after threatening suit, the Institute was released from its lease with the Insurance Co. A motion on Dec. 20 to consider Bouthillier's building opposite Champs de Mars was defeated. Then in February 1848 it was agreed to lease Bertholet's building at 8 Great St. James St., next to the Ottawa Hotel, at £50. per year on a five year lease, which was renewable for a further three years.

As the lease approached the end of its five year term the Institute began to consider more permanent quarters. May 28, 1852, the Institute offered Mrs. Tate £3000. for a lot at Great St. James and St. Peter Sts. Mr. Smith, a member of the Institute, drew up plans for a building on the lot and £900. was collected prior to the great fire, which made further collection difficult. The offer was declined as was another offer of £2000. for two-thirds of the lot, but Mrs. Tate made a counter-offer of £3500. or £2400. Meanwhile, July 12, the Montreal Library Association asked if the building could accommodate them as well. On Dec. 27, the Institute received an offer from the Hon. Charles Wilson of property at Bonaventure St. and Commissioners Square for £2000. and the adjoining property of I.I. Gibbs on Bonaventure St. for £800. This

offer was declined because the dower rights of a previous owner's wife had not been extinguished. Finally, Apr. 6, 1853 the offer of two-thirds of Mrs. Tate's property for £2400. was accepted and the sale took place at the Church door because the heirs of the estate were minors.

Meanwhile, the Mechanics' Institute renewed its lease in February 1853 and again in January 1854. At the latter period the Mercantile Library Association sought to share the accommodations of the Institute and the latter agreed. The Association later withdrew from this arrangement and the Institute claimed £30. "as an indemnity for the non-fulfillment of an arrangement for the joint occupancy of the rooms."

The Mechanics' Institute of Montreal enunciated many of the concerns about Industrial education that were being put forward in England at mid century. The Industrial Fair of October 1850, which was preparatory to the Great Exhibition in London, Canadian participation at the Great Exhibition in 1851, the Grand Provincial Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition in September 1853, the Local Exhibition preparatory to the Paris Exhibition, Canadian participation at Paris in 1855, the Grand Trunk Railway Celebration of 1856, and the Exposition of the Manufactures and Mechanical Industry of the United Canada in September 1857, made the members of the Montreal Institute conscious of the growing demands for the education of the artisan class. In addition, the Institute had adopted a system of free classes in the winters of 1853-54 and 1854-55 and had found that there was considerable demand for advanced studies. Faced with a large expenditure connected with its erection of suitable quarters, the

Institute became a persistent lobbyist to Government on behalf of such education.

On June 12, 1854, one month after the laying of the cornerstone for the new building, having established free classes for its members the previous winter, it was resolved

That, whereas, it is deemed expedient to establish, in connection with this Institute, a Free Library of Reference, - a Model Room, for the exhibition of Mechanical inventions, - a Museum, etc. - to which the public in general shall have access; and also to establish a system of Free Classes, for the instruction of the members of the Institute in the various branches of Science and Art.

Therefore, Resolved, - that this Institute present a petition to the Legislature, at its session, for a grant to assist in establishing and maintaining the aforesaid Library of Reference, etc., and that the importance of these objects be duly brought before the notice of the Legislature.

The petition was entrusted to the Honourable William Badgley. In its Annual Report, Nov. 6, 1854, the Institute stated that it "wanted to possess a Library of Literature and Science to be a Library of Reference free to all and a Model Room."

Sir Edmund Walker Head, formerly Lieutenant-Governor of New Brunswick, took office as Governor-General of Canada early in 1855. The General Committee met Mar. 5 and 7 to frame a Congratulatory Address to be presented to him, and asked him to become Patron of the Institute. The new building was opened May 21 with week long festivities, including an address by the Hon. Justice Thomas C. Aylwin and an essay contest on the Nature and Objects of Mechanics' Institutes. The Local Exhibition preparatory to the Paris Exhibition

also kept the object of Industrial education before the members of the Institute and in the Annual Report, Nov. 5, the Committee recalled

efforts to obtain the assistance of Parliament to establish and sustain a free reference library and model room ... it is quite clear that an institution affording cheap or gratuitous instruction in mechanics and kindred sciences, with the study of models and apparatus, would tend largely to improve taste, stimulate invention and add immensely to the fame and wealth of the Province ... without the potent aid of Government, or unless enterprising and public spirited individuals come forward with liberal contributions, the objects referred to, must remain for a long time to come, unaccomplished.

This was followed on Jan. 30, 1856 with the presentation of a Life Membership to Alfred Perry, Curator of the Canadian section at Paris, who had written an essay on Le Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers in Paris, an extract of which was included in the Annual Report for 1855.

In 1856 the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal continued its efforts to obtain Government assistance for the education of the artisan class. March 7, there was a Special Meeting to frame a Petition to the Governor-General in which the Institute stated that it had 800 members, who were "chiefly Mechanics," and that it offered "instruction and assistance in the objects of Mechanical and General Science." On the occasion of Governor-General Head's visit to Montreal August 1, the Institute presented him with an Address which avowed

... the condition of the Mechanic or Manufacturer in Canada yet needs much improvement, that they should be given here, either by public or private endowment those means of instruction which the Governments of France and Britain are now affording with such liberality to the Mechanics of those Countries, we venture to express the hope that the time is not far distant when the Mechanic may have his College in either section of the province not less than the Professional Man, and when his ingenuity will be judiciously fostered by rewards, as the labor

of the Canadian Agriculturalist is today.

The political lobbying continued in 1857. March 3, the members of the Institute approved a Petition to Government for aid on the grounds that

as the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal has at present in operation Classes for the instruction of its Members in the various branches of the Artisanal and Mechanical Education, essential to a large and important portion of the Inhabitants of the Province ... enabling it to further one of its principle (sic) objects of existence, the improvement of Mechanics and Apprentices who are by their daily avocations debarred from participating in the advantage of the Educational Institutes of the day ...

At the same time it wrote to the Toronto Mechanics' Institute asking that it lobby in support of its "petition for the advancement of an act to encourage the Mechanical Industry of the Province."

The lobbying appears to have been effective, but in a manner which was different from what the Mechanics' Institute had foreseen. The Government accepted the objectives enunciated by the Institute in passing an Act to Encourage Agriculture, Arts and Industry (20 Vict. ch. 32), which set up two Government agencies in each section of the Province, a Board of Agriculture and a Board of Arts and Manufactures.

The Board of Arts and Manufactures for Lower Canada took over the winter lecture series in 1857-58 and granted the Institute £50. to hold Free Classes during the same period. In effect, though it would be another ten years before it came about, the Mechanics' Institute was to be reduced to Library. The grant for the Free Classes was reduced to \$50. in 1858-59 and 1859-60, then disappeared completely until the 1867-68 season, because the Board's involvement in the Exposition in

connection with the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1860 left it mired deeply in debt. The Board's winter lecture series ceased in the 1861-62 season. The Institute, however, seemed to accept a changing role in that in the Annual Report, Nov. 7, 1859, it stated

The Library and Reading Room form the chief attractions of the Institute, and the manner in which these departments are supplied and managed will always have great influence on the Membership list.

It resolved on June 11, 1866 to set up a "committee to confer with those persons who advertise as applying for an Act of Parliament to start a free library in this city."

After Confederation, the Quebec Government in 1869 established the Conseil des arts et manufactures, which assumed the same work as had been performed by the Board of Arts and Manufactures.

B. The Education Context of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal

The conflict between the Church of England and other Protestant denominations over the control of schooling reached its peak in the decade of the 1840s. The Rev. Henry Esson and Benjamin Holmes were leaders in the struggle against the Rev. John Bethune and his designs. Bethune, Acting Principal of McGill College from 1835, attempted to turn it into an Anglican institution, as his mentor, the Rev. John Strachan, did with King's College, Toronto which opened in 1842. In turn the Baptists opened Canada Baptist College at Montreal in September 1838, the Church of Scotland opened Queen's College at Kingston in 1841, the Methodists turned Upper Canada Academy at Cobourg into Victoria College in 1842, and the Congregationalists

opened the Congregational College at Montreal in the same year. Most of these colleges, of course, were theological seminaries rather than Liberal Arts Colleges but, at both Victoria College at Cobourg and the Baptist College at Montreal, there was the threat that they would add teaching in the liberal arts to counter the denominational basis of King's and McGill Colleges.

Moreover, there appears to have been criticism within the Montreal Anglican community of some of Bethune's policies. It is possible that the founding of a number of Anglican Churches in the early 1840s was, in part at least, a reaction to Bethune as well as need for more accommodation. Trinity Chapel founded in 1840 under lay patronage, St. Thomas Church, in 1841, independent of regular Anglican clergy until the death of its founder, and St. George's Church, in 1843, as a proprietary Church owned by shareholders, to a degree may exemplify this reaction. Certainly, Trinity Chapel, under Rev. Mark Willoughby, attracted a number of influential Montrealers in addition to the Governors.¹

Roman Catholic schooling also changed at this period. The advent of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in November 1837 furnished Bishop Lartigue and his successor, Bishop Bourget, with the means to effect the clericalization and church control of Catholic schooling. Moreover, the simultaneous method of instruction practiced by the Brothers provided an effective and overt critique of the monitorial system used by many schools with Lancastrian philosophy in Montreal.² In January 1842, the year that the Montreal Normal School closed,

Bishop Bourget announced that the brothers were prepared to offer teacher training. It was against this background that the Institut Canadien was founded in 1844.

The founding of the Church Society in the summer of 1842 may have been the incident which caused non-Anglican Protestants to close ranks. The society was intended to encourage lay support and participation in the schemes of the Church of England, namely, Church support and extension, as well as the setting up and maintenance of Day and Sunday Schools.³ This latter concern arose from the Education Act of 1841 which "treated Anglicans as part of the Protestant population."⁴ The Newfoundland School Society had begun operations in the Canadas in 1839 in an effort to maintain a "Scriptural education in the principles of the Church of England."⁵

Early in April 1842 a small group of men, including the two Parliamentarians, Benjamin Holmes and Dr. Michael McCullough, the latter a nephew of Thomas McCullough of Pictou, began canvassing to obtain shareholders for the High School of Montreal. Henry Esson called a meeting of the various societies in September 1842⁶ and a public meeting chaired by the Hon. Peter McGill, Mayor of Montreal and Legislative Councillor, was held in early February 1843.⁷ The High School was to be founded on the model of the High School of Edinburgh and was to eschew narrow or illiberal views. It was in fact a counteraction to the place accorded of Anglican religious instruction and Anglican theological teaching that Bethune advocated for McGill. The proponents of the High School suggested that if McGill persisted the

courses offered would be extended in order to discharge the functions of a university.

The issue turned on the Code of Statutes, Rules and Regulation drawn up for McGill, which exhibited a Church of England bias. The Code required that students attend Chapel conducted by Church of England clergy, that the Professors not teach anything contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, which was interpreted to mean that they must belong to that church, and that Divinity taught at McGill be that of the Church of England.⁸ There was a spate of letters protesting the rules in the local press. Both Rev. Edward Black and Rev. J.J. Carruthers declined appointments at McGill.⁹ The Governor, Lord Metcalfe, wrote to Lord Stanley, Colonial Secretary,

There are strenuous remonstrances against this arrangement on the part of the Ministers of other Protestant persuasions in the Province, and a strong feeling against it in the community.¹⁰

In July 1843, there would appear to have been some form of compromise to reconcile some of the members of the community although a resolution of the difficulties was still in the future. Three members of the Royal Institution were appointed to the High School Board, namely, the Hon. George Moffatt, a proprietor in St. George's Church, W.C. Meredith, and Charles Geddes.¹¹ The High School opened Sept. 25, 1843 in a residence at the corner of Notre-Dame and St. Denis under the Headmaster, Rev. George Foster Simpson. There were 65 pupils at the opening and this grew to 167 before the close of the session.¹² By contrast McGill opened Sept. 6, of the same year with 20 students. It

may be noted that the Mechanics' Institute also opened a Day School at this point in time.

The denouement of this affair came in 1846. A quarrel between Principal Bethune and the Assistant-Principal, Rev. F.J. Lundy, led to a visitation in late 1844 by the Royal Institution.¹³ This incident and an attempt to give McGill a more pronounced Church of England basis in October of 1845 led the Bishop and the Governor to recommend to the Colonial Secretary that Bethune not be appointed to the post of Principal.¹⁴ In the same year the Royal Grammar School was merged into the High School of Montreal.¹⁵

At the end of the year 1846, under the new Education Act, the first Trustees of the Protestant Board of Montreal were appointed by the municipal Council. The Trustees included: Rev. Charles Bancroft, American educated nephew of Horatio Gates, Minister of St. Thomas' Church, who because of his American ordination was not considered one of the regular Church of England clergy in Montreal; Rev. J.M. Cramp, newly appointed President of the Canada Baptist College and formerly one of the Secretaries of the British and Foreign School Society in England; Rev. Caleb Strong, Minister of the American Presbyterian Church which sponsored the American Free School; William Lunn, Methodist, a promoter and long-time officer of the British and Canadian School Society; John Dougall, Congregationalist; Andrew Watson. It is noticeable that the regular clergy of the Churches of England and Scotland were not among the appointees. This may be due to the fact that the Church of England clergy and the Rev. A. Mathieson, the only

remaining Church of Scotland clergyman, were proponents of parochial schools although the latter supported the founding at the High School of Montreal. From 1848 successive Ministers of St. Paul's Church, Church of Scotland, were appointed to the Board.¹⁶

The Protestant School Board of Montreal was not very effective until 1870. The first several years it provided small grants to four private schools.¹⁷ It opened its first schools in 1850, Ann Street School in St. Ann suburb and Papineau Square School in Quebec suburb. There were a total of 244 pupils in these two schools the first year. The latter school burned in the fire of 1852 and was replaced by a building nearer to the city.

The decade of the 1850s brought changes to the Montreal scene. The Charter of McGill was revised in 1852 to merge the Royal Institution with the government of McGill and provide for a resident Board of Governors.¹⁸ The appointees were: Hon. Justice C.D. Day, formerly President of the Royal Institution; David Davidson, member of the Royal Institution from at least 1847; Hew Ramsay, member of the Royal Institution from 1847; Christopher Dunkin; Hon. James Ferrier, member of the Royal Institution from 1845; Benjamin Holmes; and T.B. Anderson, member of the Royal Institution from 1845. The High School of Montreal was experiencing financial difficulties and a lack of interest on the part of its governing board by 1853.¹⁹ An agreement was reached whereby the High School became a Department of the College and a new building, Burnside Hall, was erected at Dorchester and

University Streets to house both the Faculty of Arts and the High School.²⁰

The Church of England, too, experienced change. Letters patent named Francis Fulford Bishop of Montreal in 1850. He arrived in Montreal and was enthroned Sept. 15.²¹ His episcopate marked a change of direction in Anglican policy in Montreal. Fulford did not protest the 1851 Act revoking provisions for the erection and maintenance of Church of England rectories nor the Government's policy on Clergy Reserves.²² The Montreal Corresponding Committee of the Colonial Church and School Society was set up in 1853 and established a Normal School in St. George's Church, Montreal, to train teachers for the Anglican schools erected under the society. In 1857 Fulford readily ceded the Normal School together with its staff and students to the new provincial government Normal School, set up in the Belmont Street building, the former High School.²³ It was in 1854 that the first of a series of regular Anglican clergyman, Rev. Canon Samuel Gilson, was appointed to the Protestant School Board of Montreal. The Montreal Protestant community was drawn closer together by such acts.

The McGill Board appointed William Dawson Principal in 1854 and he took up the post in the autumn of 1855. There were 110 students, 38 of them in Arts, 57 in Medicine and 15 in Law.²⁴ An extensive series of popular evening lectures was offered in the winter of 1855-56.²⁵ Classes in Applied Science were begun in 1856 while the McGill Normal School opened in 1857 with William Henry Hicks and Sampson P. Robins, former teachers at Bonaventure Normal School, as Professors.

In 1858 McGill established examinations for high school students and granted successful candidates a certificate of associate of arts.²⁶

Acceding to other demands, the Government established, by an Act to Encourage Agriculture, Arts and Manufactures (20 Vict. ch. 32), the Boards of Arts and Manufactures for each section of the two Canadas in 1857.²⁷ The Boards were to be composed of the Minister of Agriculture, the professors and lecturers of the physical sciences in the incorporated Universities and Colleges, the Superintendent of Public Instruction for the provincial section, the President and delegates equal to one-twentieth of the paid up membership, practising artisans or manufacturers, or each Mechanics' Institute. Each Board was to ensure the liaison and communicate with the Mechanics' Institutes, and to establish a central library of reference, models and drawings, as well as spread knowledge connected with the mechanical arts and manufactures.

In 1866 the Protestant School Board of Montreal received the British and Canadian School, which was more centrally located than its other two schools. At this time the Board had 740 pupils under its jurisdiction. By contrast, there were 3000 pupils in private venture schools.²⁸ It was, however, the Education Act of 1869 passed by the Province of Quebec that permitted the Board's further expansion and growth. In 1870 it received by transfer the High School of Montreal, which had been an separate financial entity at McGill from 1863.²⁹ A Preparatory School was added in Sept. 1870 and the High School divided into a Classical and a Commercial Department.

C. The Activities of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal

(1) The Voluntary Association of mechanics and others

The Minute Books of the second Institute do not afford the same picture of the life of the Institute as those of the first one did. It is possible to say, however, that the idea of association in order to obtain certain educational benefits was present. Nevertheless, the intimate meetings for mutual instruction and intellectual amusement of the adult members of the Institute do not appear. This latter ideal was never lost sight of but did not become central to the life of the Institute.

Examples of the concept of voluntary association occur on a number of occasions. The first Quarterly Meeting, May 5, 1840, recommended classes for mutual instruction. Sept. 13, 1847, there was a motion

to bring the members of the Institute into closer connection with each other and thereby afford a better opportunity for mutual instruction ... (that) one evening in the week throughout the year should be set apart for the purpose of Conversation on any subject or matter connected with the Arts and Sciences that may be then introduced.

The proposition was defeated, but occasioned conflict within the Institute, when its mover published an account of the meeting in the newspapers. The concept occurs again in J.M. Kerr's prize winning essay in 1855 when he adverts to "Voluntary association, another powerful auxiliary for extending education ..." The concept apparently met with approbation but did not become part of the life of the second Institute in the way that it had in the first.

(2) Donations

I do not intend to reproduce here the long list of donations that the Mechanics' Institute received. It is sufficient to note that they may be subsumed under several categories. The first of these was cash donations. Anyone who contributed £5. was made a Life Member. Up until the end of the year 1853 about one half of the two dozen Life Members had been received in this way. Gifts of cash entitling the donor to a Life Membership increased in 1854 to 1856 (about 150 gifts) and again in 1862 to 1864 (about 100 gifts) due to the building fund.

Donations of books, apparatus, and services to the Institute of the value of £7.10s. also qualified donors to become Life Members. Some of the gifts of books and apparatus are discussed in sections below. Examples of services donated to the Institute involving Life Membership included McDonald's free ads in the Montreal Transcript, and J. Whitelaw's gift of front steps for the building the Institute occupied.

In addition to these gifts, there were many that did not entitle their donor to any particular recognition. This would be true of such gifts as individual volumes of books, periodicals and newspapers, specimens of minerals, a framed lithograph on punctuality, an oil painting of James Watt, a stuffed alligator, models and drawings. All of these were duly noted in the Minute Books, often in the Annual Report, and sometimes acknowledged publicly in the newspapers. All such gifts were seen as contributions which enhanced the good of those who made use of the Institute and thus were "the medium for the diffusion of useful

knowledge and rational amusement." There was also reference to "the principle of the combination of many for the good of all."³⁰

(3) Library and Reading Room

The Rules for the Library and Reading Room were adopted Apr. 10, 1840, about a month before the Institute opened its own rooms. Earlier there was a Committee set up to solicit donations to the Library and to obtain Life Members. The two facets were related in that one could become a Life Member by contributing £5. cash or £7.10s. in books. Among those who became Life Members by the contribution of books were: George Rhynas, who donated the Encyclopedia Britannica; John Dougall, the Penny Cyclopaedia, Chambers' Journals, and other papers; William Greig, for books; James Shand, who gave books and Philosophical Apparatus; and John Smith, for a gift of maps, books, and reviews.³¹ May 5, 1840 at the Quarterly meeting prior to taking up its quarters it was suggested that each member donate a volume to the Library. Such appeals would recur throughout the Institute's history. At the Semi-Annual Meeting Aug. 4, 1840 the Committee reported that the Library had 395 volumes; 156 by purchase, 136 from the former Institute, 56 by donation, and 47 by deposit.

The gifts continued throughout the period. Some of the same donors appear on the list year after year. Indeed, one of the largest gifts to the Library was the donation by J.E. Mills to the Institute of his salary as Mayor in 1847. The gift of £150. was received after his death in the 1847 epidemic and £50. of it had been earmarked by him for the purchase of French books.

A large proportion of the gifts and purchases relate to known books and series. These include the gifts already mentioned: Encyclopedia Britannica; Penny Cyclopaedia; Chambers' Journals; and other gifts, e.g., Nicholson's Encyclopedia. The purchases included: Library of Useful Knowledge; Harper's Family Library.

Some gifts or purchases related to specific trades or the sciences in general, for example, Nicholson's Architectural Dictionary; Nicholson's Five Orders of Architecture; Lyell's Geology; Thomson's Organic Chemistry; Thomson's Heat and Electricity. Others were topical: Howard, On Prisons; Poor Law Commissioners Reports; Malthus, On Population. Some were literary: Life of W. Scott; Scott's Prose Works; Shakespeare's Select Plays. Still others related to travel or national histories: Krusenstern's Voyage around the World; England and the English; Vitruvius' Britannicus; Scotland and the Scotch; Shetland and the Shetlander; Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. It would be impossible to detail all of the books without reproducing the Library's complete catalogue.

One matter does need to be mentioned. I have not found any reference to a ban on fiction in the Library. Some of the early gifts are not sufficiently detailed to know whether they consisted of fiction or more serious works; many are indicated merely by the number of volumes involved and one is listed as "polite literature." The First Annual Report stated that the Library was "a repository of literary and scientific knowledge." February 25, 1843 it was agreed to purchase two copies of the Waverley Novels.³² Any ban on fiction even prior to this

date, however, would have been almost impossible. Excerpts from novels and other fiction appeared on the front page of every Montreal newspaper, many of which were carried in the News Room. On the other hand, an inspection of several of the Library's catalogues does not reveal a disproportionate number of books listed as fiction, nor a more rapid increase in this category when compared with other categories.

Although there is mention of the preparation of a Library Catalogue for printing as early as March 15, 1841 it probably became the catalogue for internal use only. The first known printed catalogue for the use of individual members appeared in 1850 and contained the titles of about 1350 volumes. Five years later to coincide with the opening of the Institute's own premises a second catalogue was printed. This contained the titles of about 2050 volumes. A new catalogue was issued in 1859 which had the titles of nearly 3100 volumes. This was followed with a new catalogue in 1869; however, lectures in aid of the Library in that year necessitated the issue of an eight page supplement in the following year.

I have prepared the following table to illustrate the growth of the Library.

Year	Volumes	Issues	Readers	Notes
1840	(589)			Annual Report 700-800
1841	679	2482	141	
1842	704	1706		
1843	730	1000		
1844	843	2302		
1845	897	1830		

1846	839		
1847	(911)	2705	
1848	1312	2984	
1849	1349	3865	
1850	1470	3860	Catalogue
1851	1506	4112	c. 250
1852			
1853	1650	4000	
1854	(1891)	4643	
1855	2057	4968	Catalogue New Building opened
1856	(2235)	(5869)	
1857	2442	5562	
1858	2618	6191	
1859	3087	6840	Catalogue
1860	3536	7338	
1861	3547	7769	
1862			
1863			
1864	3465	7087	Closed for a period due to building repairs and extension
1865	3621	5675	
1866		4103	
1867		4139	
1868		3842	
1869			Catalogue
1870			Supplement

There are indications that the Library and Reading Room were sometimes viewed as directed, at least in large part, toward the juvenile members of the Institute. For example, in the Third Annual Report of November 1843 one finds

It is with pleasure that your Committee alludes to this part of your Institute, and considering how many of your members support it from purely philanthropic motives, they cannot but

exult in the large number of readers it contains.

In the Annual Report of November 1851 it was stated that there were about 250 readers "a large portion of whom were apprentice members." Five years later, November 1856, the Library Committee recommended "the propriety of selecting in future purchases for the Library such books as tend to elevate the tone of reading among the younger members." The same report stated that "the Reading Room was frequented by a large number of youth." The following year also reported that "the Reading Room was used by the younger members."

There were a number of others permitted to use the Institute's facilities. In 1850 the members of the Institut Canadien were invited to use the Reading Room because of the fire which destroyed their quarters.³³ In the same year, the Montreal District Industrial Exhibition was held and the Institute accorded visiting members of other Provincial Mechanics' Institutes all privileges with the exception of the vote.³⁴ The Convention in Montreal of the American Association for the Advancement of Science in 1856 prompted the Institute, now in its own building, to offer the use of its Reading Room and Reference Library to the visiting scientists.³⁵

The Reading Room was open all day, from 7 a.m. in the summer and 8 a.m. in the winter until 10 p.m., but the Library only functioned during the evening hours, from 5 p.m. to 10. The General Committee was very aware that the Library was central to the Institute's educational role. It constantly sought to extend the number of periodicals for the Reading Room and recorded that new quarters and the addition of many monthly

and quarterly periodicals in 1848 had increased the number of persons using the Room.³⁶ Many of the periodicals were bound and added to the Library and in later years from 20 to 35 of the annual additions to the total volumes are to be accounted for in this way. After the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Lower Canada had taken over the winter lectures previously offered by the Institute the Annual Report for 1859 stated:

The Library and Reading Room form the chief attractions of the Institute, and the manner in which these departments are supplied and managed will always have great influence on the Membership list.

The establishment of the Board of Arts and Manufactures also had its effects on the Library. In 1859 the Institute obtained 1100 volumes from the British Patent Office, but ceded them to the Board which had also applied for them.³⁷ No doubt this gesture was made easier by the fact that the binding of these books would cost more than £200., which the Board could more easily afford, as well as the fact that the Board had taken rooms in the Institute and the volumes would therefore be available for consultation by the institute's members. In the middle 1860s there were a number of approaches to the board to bring the Board's Library together in the same room as the Institute's. The Board resisted any such proposal.³⁸

As may be seen in the table printed earlier the number of issues declined in the middle 1860s. this is, perhaps, related in part of the absence of lecturing in both the Institute and under the auspices of the Board. More probably, however, a large part of the decline is due to the

fact that the English-speaking population of Montreal was moving to the areas to the north and west of the Old City. This is seen in the move of many of the Churches and other institutions north to Dorchester Street and beyond during the mid 1860s.

(4) Museum and Model Room

At the First Annual Meeting the General Committee reported with regret that it had "not yet been able to procure the services of any gentleman qualified to arrange your numerous and valuable collection of minerals, ores, etc." This is one of the very few references to the museum yet it seems to have become a valuable part of the Institute's educational role. The museum also figured in the 1854 petition to the Legislature for aid.

The Museum came to an end in the Spring of 1868 when it was agreed to sell the Museum Cases to the Natural History Society.³⁹ One of the conditions of this sale was that members of the Institute would be admitted without charge to the Natural History Society rooms upon producing their membership card.

(5) Classes and School

The class work of the Institute falls easily into two parts, that which took place before it obtained its own building and the later work. I have placed in an appendix the references that I have been able to find to the class work and the Day school, which was in operation for two sessions

from December 1843 until April 1845. I will outline the classes and their teachers in this section.

During its first year of operation, as it did in subsequent years, the General Committee advertised a number of classes that it would open during the evenings. The subjects were for the most part beyond the elementary level: Grammar and Elocution, Composition, Geography, Mathematics, Algebra and Geometry, French and various branches of Drawing. The exception to this would be those subjects that were generally considered elementary, writing and arithmetic.⁴⁰ The only time these latter subjects attracted students during the first fifteen years was where the free evening school was operated by the teacher of the Day School from 1843 to 1845.

The only classes to succeed regularly during the first period of the Institute's history, from 1840 to 1854, were classes in French and various branches of Drawing. Of those that opened occasionally there was a class in Mathematics and Algebra in 1840-41 superintended by John Ibbotson; and one in Geometry in 1854-55 taught by J.T. Dutton; and two classes in Phonography (Shorthand) one in 1846-47 and one in 1847-48 both taught by Mr. Hornsby. There was also a debating class which lasted several sessions. During two sessions, the years 1848-49 and 1849-50, there were no classes of any kind in the Institute.

There were French classes in eight of the fifteen sessions: one begun in November 1840, teacher unknown; one in June to September 1841 and another begun in January 1842, both taught by Monsieur Thérion; one in

the winter 1844-45 taught by the Rev. Emile Lapelletrie; classes in the winters 1845-46, 1846-47, 1847-48 under Mr. Weilbrenner; and one in 1854-55 taught by J.T. Dutton. Mr. Thérion required £20. per year for teaching; the class of eight students which met three evening a week the first year had quarterly fee of 5s. for members and 2s.6d. for apprentices. His second class was said to have proceeded "with considerable success."⁴¹

There were Drawing Classes in at least twelve of the fifteen sessions. The first class in the winter of 1840-41 was Perspective and Architectural Drawing under the superintendence of James Springle and James Dickinson (Librarian), the former of whom had offered to teach a class in Descriptive Geometry.⁴² There were a series of Drawing classes running through the winters 1842-43 to 1847-48. W.N. Milln, a member of the Institute, taught classes in Architectural and Mechanical Drawing gratuitously in four of these sessions. He was succeeded by Wm. Footner, an architect also a member of the Institute, who was paid £10. Other Drawing teachers included John Smith, James Duncan, drawing teacher, Rev. J. Hutchison, D.S. MacFarlane, architect, John Kay, James Langlands, John Lambert, T.D. Reed, William Kennedy, and J.C. Spence.

There were a number of proposals for classes and offers to teach, none of which succeeded. It is, however, indicative of the range of subjects available to cite here some of these. G. Hose proposed a Philological class and Alwin H. Baker a Singing class in 1841; a Bookkeeping and a

Lecture Class were proposed by the Committee in 1845; and a Music class was considered in 1850.

One of the major developments during this first period was the opening of the Day School with its attendant free evening school. The Committee wrote that the latter

*would tend greatly to strengthen the Institute; before we can reap we must sow, and it is to the good seed implanted in the minds of the growing generation that we must look for our Intellectual Harvest.*⁴³

It may be noted that the School was proposed and opened during the period when the non-Anglican Protestant community was protesting vigorously against the religious requirements at McGill University. In spite of a precipitous drop in membership during the year, plans matured and James Maxwell was engaged as Teacher and Librarian at £75. per year in November 1843 and the Day school opened Dec. 4th.⁴⁴

The Day School consisted of two sections. The syllabus and fee schedule follow:

Junior classes: Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and English Grammar. Children of members 7s.6d. per quarter, non-members 10s.

Senior classes: Bookkeeping, Algebra, Euclid's elements of Geometry, Latin Grammar. Children of members 10s., non-members 15s., sons of deceased members no charge.

The school attracted twenty pupils the first year. The attendant Evening School, which was free attracted twenty-four pupils.⁴⁵ Presumably it offered the elements of a good English education, that is, Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and English Grammar.

In the second year the Institute proposed a different financial arrangement with the Teacher, namely, that Maxwell receive £50. per year plus one half of the fees.⁴⁶ In return his duties were lightened by the hiring of a Librarian. The Annual Report, Feb. 5, 1845, stated

There is at present established in the rooms of the Institute a day school, composed of 37 pupils, a reading, writing and arithmetic class composed of 23 pupils ...⁴⁷

The school fees and the number of pupils were the subject of dispute when the school closed May 1, 1845.⁴⁸ It may be that the statement in the Sixth Annual Report, Nov. 3, 1845, was to recall the Institute's purpose in order to head off criticism of the closing of the school. The Committee stated that the Institute

was established for the purpose of affording to the working classes that instruction in the principles of the arts, in which they are daily practising, and for the extension of Science and useful knowledge.

In addition, it pointed to the Institute's motto "Knowledge is Power."

A second major development was the adoption of free classes for the 1853-54 session. The Committee explained in the Annual Report that the Institute

adopted the Free Class system during the past winter, a measure which induced a large number of apprentices and others to connect themselves with the Institute. The Sub-Committee on Classes having observed that during former years the Classes were attended by but a very small number of the Members, perhaps not averaging more than 12 to 18, resolved to abolish the small charge usually made for admission, and to afford instruction in the Classes free to all members of the Institute. The result was, that immediately on the announcement of this proceeding, the applications for admission numbered upwards of 100, being

*as many as the limited accommodation would admit of.*⁴⁹

Subsequent to that, the Institute petitioned Parliament, June 12, 1854, asking for a grant in aid of its work.

The largest range of classes during this first period was offered in 1854-55, the last winter before the Institute entered its own premises. This was due to the adoption of free classes the previous year. The Annual Report stated that

it is quite clear that an institution affording cheap or gratuitous instruction in mechanics and kindred sciences, with the study of models and apparatus, would tend largely to improve taste, stimulate invention and add immensely to the fame and wealth of the Province ...

The classes were organized early in December for instruction in: 1. Mechanical Drawing - W.M. Milln and James Langlands. 2. Architectural Drawing - John Lambert, T.D. Reed and Wm. Kennedy. 3. Landscape and Ornamental Drawing - James Duncan and J.C. Spence, 4. Practical Geometry, and 5. The French Language - J.T. Dutton.

*The attendance on each of the classes was exceedingly good; upwards of 150 members having derived gratuitous instruction in one or other of the above named branches of education.*⁵⁰

During the second period, from 1855 to 1870, Drawing classes were again regularly offered as were also English classes, that is an extended elementary education, and French classes. The various branches of Drawing were taught in thirteen of the fourteen sessions, English in ten sessions, and French in seven sessions. Bookkeeping is mentioned twice and Mathematics once. There were arrangements to hold classes in other premises in 1862-63 but no classes in the 1863-64 session due to building renovations and extension.

The contrast with the previous two years was immediately obvious when the Institute held classes in its own building in 1855-56. Whether because of its difficult financial position or for other reasons, the Institute imposed a class fee of one dollar, which in effect was the equivalent of doubling the annual fee for apprentices. The result was a precipitous drop in the number of pupils enrolled for classes. The Annual Report stated

... it was decided to make a nominal charge of one dollar for each pupil, and a notice to that effect having been posted in the Reading Room for several weeks, a Drawing class was opened with 26 pupils on the 20th. Dec. 1855 and was continued till the middle of March 1856.

Lists were also opened for several other classes but the number of names enrolled was so far below what might have been expected that after due Considerations the Committee did not feel warranted in incurring more expenses than the formation of the Drawing class, the attendance at this throughout the season was remarkably good, many of the pupils devoting themselves to their studies with great diligence and zeal, and under the efficient teaching of Mr. MacFarlane made very very great progress.⁵¹

The Institute continued to press for Government assistance with a petition to the Governor-General in March 1856⁵² and an Address when he visited Montreal in August of the same year.⁵³ This was followed by a petition to Parliament in March 1857.⁵⁴

Meanwhile, in 1856-57 there was a new development. There was the usual Drawing Class under Mr. T. Young which had "considerable success, the industrious pupils making good progress."⁵⁵ Then, Mr. A. Walsh of Lower Canada College offered to provide teachers to the Institute free of charge. This led to the opening of some classes at a

more elementary level, Writing, Arithmetic and French. It is stated that, although these classes began late in the season they "were attended with some interest but ... the attendance was not so large as it might have been."⁵⁶ The elementary classes would continue though several years.

The following year, 1857-58, brought a return to free classes thanks to a grant of £50. by the newly established Board of Arts and Manufactures for Lower Canada. There were 94 pupils enrolled in the several classes. The Annual Report stated that

*free classes for instruction in French, Architectural and Mechanical Drawing, Writing, Bookkeeping, Arithmetic, and Mathematics were organized early last winter, and were kept up for a period of over four months. The attendance was not what might have been expected, yet, on the whole, a very great degree of efficiency was attained by many of the scholars.*⁵⁷

There were conditions attached to the Board's grant, namely, that the Institute conduct classes for at least four months and admit pupils sent by the Board who were not members of the Institute. This latter condition may have led to some later discussions about the requirement of membership in the Institute to attend classes and to the misunderstanding on the part of the Institute des Artisans who demanded free entry in 1866 and 1867. There are also some later writers who date the Board of Arts and Manufactures Central School from 1859.⁵⁸

The grant from the Board of Arts and Manufactures to the Institute was \$50. per year in 1858-59 and 1859-60. In the former year the average attendance was 95 at classes in Reading, Writing and Arithmetic under P. Clancy; French under Rev. J.E. Tanner; Mechanical and Ornamental Drawing under David MacFarlane and William King; and Architectural Drawing under Alexander C. Hutchison. The Committee complained that they had to close the classes early because of the "unwillingness of employers to grant their apprentices the time, when business began to revive about the beginning of March."⁵⁹ In the latter year, classes were opened a month earlier, and 70 pupils were enrolled. There were classes in English, Reading, Grammar, Writing, Bookkeeping and Arithmetic under James Stewart and James Bute; Architectural Drawing under A.C. Hutchison; Mechanical Drawing under D. MacFarlane; Ornamental drawing under J. Bute and James D. Elliott; and French under Rev. J.E. Tanner. The Mathematics class was discontinued due to low enrollment. This time the Committee remarked on greater regularity of attendance "mainly attributed to the aid and encouragement" of employers and therefore "they have not to regret the complaint so justly made in last year's report."⁶⁰

In the 1860-61 session there is no mention of a grant from the Board of Arts and Manufactures and it is unlikely that there was one due to the financial difficulties the Board experienced.⁶¹ Nevertheless, there were classes in Reading, Writing, Bookkeeping, Arithmetic, Grammar, French, Architectural, Mechanical and Ornamental Drawing. The average attendance was 117 and the Committee remarked that

A member of the Institute is at liberty to join any or

*all of the classes, thus the young journeyman, clerk and apprentice, whose engagements require daily labor, can receive a fair education during the winter evenings, by becoming connected with the Institute, a privilege well worthy the consideration of parents, guardians, employers, and others.*⁶²

In 1861-62 there were classes in English, French and Drawing. The Institute established a charge of twelve and a half cents a month for each pupil to pay for the gas. There had apparently been complaints about noise when the pupils departed the classroom and the Committee sought some other means of exit from the Classroom.⁶³

The question of membership would arise again later in connection with the classes. Meanwhile, the Institute had to effect repairs to the roof and decided to extend the building at the same time. This meant that classes were held in rented rooms during 1862-63 and foregone altogether in 1863-64. There were classes in English, French and Drawing in the first year. The Annual Report of 1864 blames the lack of classes on the building repairs, whereas the General Committee had decided the year earlier that they should be discontinued due to lack of finances. The Committee also suggested a small fee in the Annual Report.

*We would also venture to guess that a small charge for admission to each Class would tend to make them more appreciated and keep away a class of boys who attend more for amusement and by their disorderly conduct annoy the Teachers and hinder the earnest and industrious students.*⁶⁴

The fee charged was twenty-five cents for entry to English classes which was refunded in cases of good conduct and regular attendance.

The fee for the Art classes was twenty-five cents per month. Pupils in the French class were expected to pay fees and there should be a sufficient number enrolled to cover half the Teacher's fees.⁶⁵

The English classes in the next three years attracted the majority of those who enrolled in classes. In 1864-65 Thomas Muir had 67 pupils. At the formal examination in April 1865 the pupils exhibited their skills in dictation, spelling and mental arithmetic. The following year, 1865-66, there were difficulties keeping a Teacher, but Mr. Warren of the Anglican Bonaventure Model School closed out the year. There were 119 pupils enrolled in two classes. The average attendance in the senior division held Mondays and Thursdays was 18, and in the Junior division held Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Fridays it was 48. The following year Mr. Warren was once again the Teacher. There were 107 enrolled and an average attendance of 30. This was the last year for the elementary classes.

It is interesting to examine the reasons for the abandonment of the idea of English classes. September 23, 1867 the General Committee decided to concentrate on the Drawing classes. In the Annual Report this decision is explained as follows:

The General Committee decided to dispense with the usual English branch believing the many opportunities afforded the youth of the City outside the Institute for the acquisition of the Rudiments of English, left them more at liberty to provide their members Instruction more in keeping with the objects of the Institute ..⁶⁶

It is certainly surprising then to find that Nov. 17, 1868, when the General Committee was having difficulty finding a Teacher for the Drawing class, it decided

... to make further efforts to secure a Teacher at once for the Mechanical Drawing Class, failing that to establish a Class for English and French to be confined the apprentices and Boys in stores.⁶⁷

The interest in the earlier proposition of the Committee lies in the fact that the provision of public education under the Protestant School Board had not yet begun to assume the extent that would warrant this statement. Therefore there must have been considerable private educational opportunity.

The Drawing classes in the years 1864-65 to 1868-69 attracted fewer students, perhaps attributable in part to the fee which added to the membership fee effectively doubled the cost for the pupils. In 1864-65 A.C. Hutchison taught Architectural Drawing to 26 pupils and Mechanical Drawing to 9. In 1865-66 Mr. Hutchison taught Architectural Drawing to 30 pupils and had an average attendance of 17. In the Annual Report it was remarked

Your committee consider these classes a most important part of the usefulness of the Institute amongst the Mechanical Community and one which should be fostered with all the power, skill and energy of the members.⁶⁸

In 1866-67 it was suggested that application be made to the Board of Arts and Manufactures for "suitable models" for the Drawing class.⁶⁹ The Committee also authorized the engagement of a Teacher of Mechanical Drawing for a class of ten pupils. It was in this session

that the Institute des Artisans expressed "the desire to come in amongst us without any remuneration beyond the use of their papers."⁷⁰ That session there were 13 enrolled in Mechanical drawing and 13 in Architectural drawing with an average total attendance of 5.

In the Annual Report for 1867 the Committee regretted the very discouraging attendance at Drawing classes and subsequent to the meeting decided to concentrate all their resources in the next session on the Drawing classes. The eve of the deadline for enrollment there were only 13 entered for Architectural and 2 for Mechanical drawing, far short of the minimum of 20 which had been set for each class. The period of registration was extended and there was considerable discussion about the discrepancy between the number entered on the list and the number who were actually members of the Institute. The attitude is shown by the minute reading

The Committee is of the opinion that no one should be allowed to enter any of the classes unless he is a member of the Institute; and he must have paid the class fee.⁷¹

It was in this situation that Mr. I. Perrault, President of the Institut des Artisans, appeared before the General Committee and asked that his members be allowed to join the Drawing classes. He received the firm reply that the terms of the other pupils must be respected.⁷² The class in Architectural and Geometrical drawing began with 32 enrolled and 30 in attendance the first evening. The Annual Report stated that the class

*opened in October and continued until the end of March ...
36 Young men availed themselves of the advantages*

afforded by this class and made such progress that the committee appointed the Board of Arts and Manufactures of Lower Canada to examine (them ... who) expressed themselves highly satisfied with the proficiency attained in so short a time.⁷³

The Board of Arts and Manufactures gave a \$100 grant for the conduct of the class.

In 1868-69 the Institute had difficulty finding a Teacher but finally opened a Mechanical Drawing class under Mr. Warrick on Nov. 20, 1868. There were 24 enrolled and an average attendance of 16. The syllabus is said to have included Practical Geometry, details of engines and other machinery and Solid Geometry.⁷⁴ This was the last class sponsored by the Mechanics' Institute.

The Board of Arts and Manufactures had by now emerged from its financial difficulties and apparently was once again in possession of the Palace of Industry erected in 1860.⁷⁵ It had several requests before it: one from the Association of Arts to establish a School of Design; another from Dr. J.B. Edwards to set up a laboratory to teach Practical Chemistry. The Board decided to set up Schools of Design and to organize classes in Arts and Sciences under its immediate control and to take over the classes of the Mechanics' Institute, the Association of Arts and the Institute des Artisans Canadiens. There is perhaps a telling comment on the burden imposed by the double fee for membership and classes in the words of the Annual Report for the Mechanics' Institute of 1870

Your Committee are gratified to know that about 180 members of the Institute availed themselves of the advantages

offered them by the opening of this school, and trust that a much larger number will attend this coming season.⁷⁶

The classes of the Board of Arts and Manufactures were free to members of the Institute and for the very reason were more successful in attracting pupils than the classes of the Institute had been.

(6) Lectures

The Mechanics' Institute began lectures Wed. April 15, 1840 with Thomas Miller's address on the Merits, objects and uses of Mechanics' Institutes. Its Rooms were inaugurated May 14, 1840 with an address by Christopher Dunkin on Self-improvement and the Education of the Working Classes. There were followed by Rev. A. Findlater's lecture on Geometry and its Application to Mechanics. In the late summer J.S. Buckingham gave the members of the Institute 200 free tickets to his lecture on the objects and interests of Mechanics' Institutes in conjunction with the cause of Temperance, a lecture which the Institute had printed.⁷⁷ Buckingham also reduced the price of admission for members to attend his lectures on Egypt and Palestine.

In the autumn the Institute began a lengthy lecture program. Dr. Archibald Hall gave a course of ten lectures on Popular Chemistry "illustrated by numerous delicate, and highly interesting experiments."⁷⁸ On the other hand, the Institute could be discriminating in its choice of lecturers and deal decisively with those who did not fulfill their engagement. It declined an offer in late summer

1840 by A. Young for lectures on Phrenology but accepted such a course from C. Dunkin and arranged his transportation.⁷⁹ Captain Wilson, who delivered only two of four lectures in October, was denied the £4. promised for the series.⁸⁰ Mr. Sutton, a student at the Baptist Seminary, gave an introductory lecture on Geography, apparently with a view to conducting a class on Geography, but was denied further use of the room because his "teaching was not calculated to please the members."⁸¹ Henry Driscoll's lectures on Jurisprudence, Dr. S.C. Sewell's three lectures on Human Physiology, Alexander Skakel's series on Natural Philosophy, incomplete because of illness,⁸² Aaron P. Hart's two lectures on Vegetable Physiology and another describing St. Jean de Acre, and Mr. Weir's lecture on Education completed the 1840-1841 season.

Although the Institute charged an entry fee for non-members to many of the lectures (5s. for the course for Dr. Hall, 19s. for the course by Dunkin, and an unknown amount for the series by Driscoll, and 1s.3d. per individual lecture) the lecturers were generally unpaid, except for direct expenditure, for example the £5-£10. to be reimbursed to Dr. Hall for apparatus. The First Annual Report stated that

*One of the principal objects contemplated in the establishment of a Mechanics' Institute is the procuring of Lectures, as the best means of awakening in the public mind a desire for knowledge.*⁸³

It was not, however, until November 1847 that the issue of permitting the public to attend the lectures free was broached. The principle was defeated on a split ballot in which the Chairman cast the deciding vote but it was approved on a second ballot.⁸⁴

The number of lectures in 1841-42 and 1842-43 was much reduced from that of the first winter. In reviving the Institute in the Fall of 1843 the Committee rented the room over the News Room on St. Joseph Street and printed a Prospectus of the Syllabus of lectures listing somewhere in the neighbourhood of 35 to 50 possible lectures. The actual program differed from the syllabus considerably but still numbered an impressive thirty or so lectures. There is a list of lectures for the autumn 1844 in the Annual Report but little is known of the winter of 1845, other than that the Institute declined lectures from Dr. Rotenstein and found that Rev. Cooney could not lecture due to his removal to Upper Canada.⁸⁵ After that the lectures would seem to have settled into a pattern of from eight to a dozen or fifteen lectures each season. Some of the same lecturers appeared year after year, namely, Dr. Barber, Rev. Dr. J.M. Cramp, C. Dunkin, Rev. Dr. H. Wilkes, Rev. W. Taylor, and Dr. S.C. Sewell, and their contribution was recognized in 1848 by the granting of Honorary membership.⁸⁶

The Institute rented a number of different locations as a lecture hall when their own rooms were insufficient for the purpose. As mentioned above, in 1843-44 and 1844-45 the Institute rented the Room above the News Room from the Board of Trade. In 1847-48, and the two subsequent winters 1848-49 and 1849-50, the Institute rented the Odd Fellows Hall on a short term basis. Some of the cost of the rentals of the Lecture Hall, as well as of the rooms the Institute occupied, was recouped in some years by the subletting of rooms to other groups and lecturers.

The idea of cooperation in the provision of lectures arose in the 1850s, after the Provincial Parliament had been moved from Montreal. In May 1850 the President of the Mercantile Library suggested to the President of the Mechanics' Institute that the two groups unite their lecture series in the next season. In November, however, the Library declined the offer of joint sponsorship.⁸⁷ In November 1853 Hew Ramsay, Governor at McGill wrote that the College would have lectures on Chemistry and Philosophy that winter. He asked for the Institute's cooperation and offered a reduced rate to Institute members and apprentices.⁸⁸

The season before the Institute moved into its new building lectures were omitted entirely. They resumed in the 1855-56 season when Bishop Fulford began with some remarks on Colonial Institutions. George Garth, newly elected President, prior to the beginning of the season had advocated weekly lectures on Science.⁸⁹ The Lecture and Class Committee recommended at the close of the season that the Institute discontinue

*the present system of voluntary Lectures, and endeavor to obtain competent Persons to deliver Courses of Lectures on such subjects as ought to be brought prominently before the members of a Mechanics' Institute.*⁹⁰

The inquiry of the Hamilton Institute, in Oct. 1856, concerning professional lecturers received the following reply

*we have always depended for lectures on Amateurs, and there are no parties at present in Montreal to recommend in that capacity.*⁹¹

The following year 1856-57 there were only five lectures but the Annual Report stated that there were also other lectures by groups which had rented the Hall.

This was to be the end of regular lecture courses or seasons sponsored by the Institute. The Annual Report for 1858 stated

During the past winter your Committee were not called upon to make arrangements for the usual course of lectures, in consequence of the Board of Arts and Manufactures of Lower Canada having engaged some of the best talent in the country for the delivery of a course on scientific subjects, exceedingly well adapted for such an institution as ours. The lectures being free to all, were well attended. They were delivered in the Hall of the Institute ...

It is tempting to suggest that, given the dominance of delegates from the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal on the Board, those who advocated a more scientific orientation to the lectures were now members of the Board. Nevertheless, there was no change of orientation to the lectures.

The Board of Arts and Manufactures lectures continued until the Board found itself in financial straits after 1860. Then there was a hiatus in lecturing and the Institute discussed arrangements for lectures but were not successful.⁹² The Annual Report for 1865 stated plaintively

We have now an excellent Hall and some Apparatus which with slight additions would afford us the means of enabling Scientific and other Gentlemen to give very interesting lectures.

It was not to be. The next lectures sponsored by the Mechanics' Institute were in the winter of 1868-69, when four clergymen were prevailed upon to lecture for the benefit of the Library.

(7) An Experimental Workshop and Laboratory

It is not easy to separate gifts for the workshop or laboratory from those that were intended to illustrate lectures. In the latter category would be the Mechanical apparatus that the Institute applied to Birkbeck to supply and had earmarked £30. for the purchase.⁹³ It was anxiously awaited; finally in early 1842 it was made without charge for labor by four members: Tweedy, McIntosh, Smith and Taylor. The Institute also applied unsuccessfully to Sir Charles Bagot in August 1842 for the equipment of the Montreal Normal School,⁹⁴ which would have fallen into this same category.

Other gifts related to various scientific concerns were gifted to the institution through the years. By way of example, I might mention James Jackson's gift of a microscope, John Tassie's gift of an electrifying machine, and C.D. Shaw's gift of a Voltaic Battery, Rotary Magnet and Weight, and an Electrolyte. At other times gifts of cash were earmarked for the purchase of equipment. In 1844, £8. of the Government grant was budgeted for the purchase of an Air Pump, while £18. of the Governor-General's gift of the same year was set aside for the purchase of Chemical Apparatus and £30. for Astronomical and Biological slides.⁹⁵

On the other hand, one does not find any mention of a Workshop or Laboratory. Perhaps all of this material was intended for lectures and classroom studies. The petition of June 1854 mentions a Library of Reference, a Model Room, and a Museum, but no Workshop or Laboratory. Possibly the lack of patent protection, so often mentioned, played a part in this but I suspect that lack of space was more basic to the absence of this aspect of the Institute's scope.

(8) Festivals and Exhibitions

The first of a long series of Mechanics' Festival was held Thurs. Feb. 16, 1843 in the rooms over the St. Ann's Market. There is reference to similar festivals held in the Old Country and a manifestation of civic pride in its announcement:

A Committee has been appointed to carry it into effect, and though they do not pledge themselves to effect their object in the same style as the Old Country, yet they will endeavour to give something alike creditable to the City and the Institute; a variety of amusements will be brought forward and a programme will be published and distributed.⁹⁶

The editor of the Montreal Transcript remarked

This is one of those rational entertainments in which all classes and all ages can participate with pleasure.⁹⁷

In the next Semi-Annual Report, Aug. 1, it was noted that the example had been followed by the Institute in Quebec.⁹⁸ Later in the mid 1850s there are reference to other Institutes borrowing materials for a Festival.⁹⁹ The Montreal Institute's Festivals continued until well after the Institute opened its own building.

There were other exhibitions and festivals in which the Institute participated, including an Industrial Fair in October 1850 in preparation for the Canadas' participation at the Great Exhibition in London the following year. The Mechanics' Institute offered two Life Memberships for presentation and voted to accord all the privileges of the Institute, except the vote, to visiting members of other provincial Institutes.¹⁰⁰ There was also a Mechanics' Dinner at the fair. A deputation from the Toronto Institute was welcomed on October 24,¹⁰¹ and the encounter was to lead to a fruitful collaboration in petitioning the Legislature in subsequent years. John McCallum was voted a Life Member "for having shown the best specimen of mechanism by an apprentice at the late Industrial Exhibition."¹⁰² Subsequent to the Industrial Fair the members of the Institute proposed to ask the Agricultural, Horticultural and other societies to unite in sponsoring a District Exhibition in the fall of 1851.¹⁰³ The Institute also offered three Life Memberships for the Grand Provincial Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition held in Montreal in September 1853.¹⁰⁴

At the opening of their New Mechanics' Hall in 1855 the Institute planned a week long Polytechnic Exhibition and Fancy Fair.¹⁰⁵ The program lasted for the entire week. There was an Inaugural Address by the Hon. Justice Alwin on the Monday, a Concert on Tuesday, a lecture on Chemistry by Dr. R.P. Howard on Wednesday, a Soirée with various addresses on Thursday, a lecture on Astronomy by Thomas McGinn on Friday, and a concert of sacred music on Saturday. Later that year there was a Local Exhibition preparatory to the Great Exhibition the following year in Paris.

On Jan. 30, 1856, the Mechanics' Institute made Alfred Perry a Life Member "for representing the Manufacturing Industry of Canada at London and Paris." Late in 1856 the Institute received a letter from T.S. Brown of the Board of Agriculture for Lower Canada asking it to coordinate and manage the mechanical section of the Agricultural Exhibition to be held in Montreal in the following autumn.¹⁰⁶ There was a Committee set up to confer with the Agricultural Association. The plans for this Exposition of the Manufactures and Mechanical Industry of United Canada in September 1857 led some to think in grander terms. A motion was sustained, and then later rescinded, which called for a Universal Exposition in Canada no later than 1858.¹⁰⁷

The Board of Arts and Manufactures which came into existence in 1857 was to have "the power to take part in the future management of 'exhibitions'." In 1860, it received a special Government grant of \$20,000. to mount a great exhibition in honor of the visit of the Prince of Wales. The Board ran into financial difficulties and this had great effect on the work of the Institute.¹⁰⁸

(9) Excursions

In July 1853 the first train ran from Longueuil to Portland, Maine. There was an excursion carrying many notables to Portland. This was an occasion of great civic pride for the city because many of its inhabitants had invested large sums of money in the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railroad. On August 25 of the same year the members of the Mechanics' Institute took an excursion to Portland to meet with

members of the Institute there. There was a return visit on the part of members of the Portland Institute.

Shortly after the opening of their new building in May 1855 the Institute received an offer from the Grand Trunk of an excursion to Island Pond.¹⁰⁹ Although the regimental band declined to attend, members of the Institute joined with members of an Institute in Portland, Maine for a picnic. Profits of £60. were used for the building fund. The following year members joined with the Caledonian Society in an excursion to Vaudreuil. Other excursions ensued.

D. The Membership of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal

Feb. 11, 1840 The following notice appeared in several Montreal newspapers:

MECHANICS INSTITUTE.

The undersigned address themselves to the public generally, but more particularly to the MASTER AND JOURNEYMEN MECHANICS of the City, and request them to meet at the SCHOOL ROOM of Mr. BRUCE, opposite the Ottawa Hotel, in McGill Street, on TUESDAY EVENING next, at half-past SEVEN o'clock, to take into consideration, the best means of re-organizing and re-establishing with MECHANICS' INSTITUTE, (formerly existing here,) with a view to benefitting Mechanics, whether Masters, Journeymen, or Apprentices, - by establishing an Institution that will improve their condition, socially and morally.

Punctual attendance is requested, - and information regarding the property and effects belonging to the former Mechanics' Institute, will be highly acceptable.¹¹⁰

In the Meeting Report in Montreal Transcript of February 13 signed by John Redpath (Chairman) and Joseph Fraser (Secretary) it was stated that

It was highly gratifying to perceive that the Meeting was not of mechanics solely, - and that a very general interest seems to have existed in favour of the object throughout the community.

That the Institute should not be conceived in narrow terms was also the subject of the statement signed by "J.T." who wrote in its support in a letter to the Editor of the Montreal Transcript four days later, Feb. 17, 1840

It is submitted that in laying the foundation the Committee should bear in mind, that their edifice ought to be a mechanics' institution in substance as well as in name; not that it should by any means, be such to the exclusion of other classes, but it is presumed that public ability will best be secured by directing the scope and aims of its laws and regulations to the greatest improvement of artisans.

The new Institute moved quickly to absorb the former Montreal Mechanics' Institute, which had a recorded membership of eighty. At the Semi-Annual Meeting of Aug. 4, 1840 it was stated:

Your Committee have already reported that negotiations had been opened between themselves and the Gentlemen forming the Mechanics' Institution, formerly existing in this City, for the Union of the two bodies. Your Committee were anxiously desirous of preventing the evils arising from any rivalry and consequent dissension likely to be produced by the operation of two similar but separate bodies occupying the same sphere of action. They also felt the great importance of obtaining, in the outset, as great an accession of members as possible, that by united efforts they might be enabled to effect a greater amount of general good than could possibly

be achieved by the most strenuous, if divided exertions. Your committee having been met in a similar spirit, and with similar motives to those which influenced themselves, it was arranged that the property of the Institution should be valued by arbitrators, and that Tickets for the Current Year, entitling the holders of the right of membership in the Institute, should be issued to the amount of the value so awarded ... Your Committee congratulate themselves and the members of the now united bodies upon the successful termination of the negotiations and fervently hope (every cause of rivalry being now removed save the rivalry of well doing) that the joint labours of the united bodies will contribute much to the amelioration of the condition, physical and intellectual of the Mechanics and others of this flourishing City.

It was noted that twenty-four members of the former Institute were admitted (see Appendix).

At the third Quarterly Meeting Nov. 3, 1840, the Committee noted that in a conversation with His Excellency the Governor-General (Lord Sydenham) it was mentioned that clerks, salesmen and others were prevented by long hours from attending. The report noted that His Excellency had urged that the Committee should endeavor to obtain shorter hours for this group. The report continued:

It is gratifying to observe that the young men of that class have by their energy accomplished so laudable a purpose, it is to be hoped that the means of improvement which your Institute holds out will be taken advantage of ...

If the Committee had hoped to include them within the Institute it was not to be. In a public meeting held Jan. 30, 1841, the Mercantile Library Association was formed on the basis of an association in New York, but its purposes and activities were strikingly similar to those of the Mechanics' Institute.¹¹¹

There appear to have been friendly relations between the two groups and there are several indications of attempted collaboration. The Committee of the Mechanics Institute referred to the development in the Third Annual Report Feb. 7, 1843 in these terms

kindred Institutions arise and of course deprive us of some of our members, but yet the Mechanics and Artisans of Montreal number sufficient, aye more than sufficient to make this Institute the first in British North America.

In the late Spring of 1843 the Institute and the Association asked A.W. Delisle to sponsor a conjoint petition to the Legislature for incorporation of the two bodies.¹¹² Later they would consider joint sponsorship of the annual lecture series and even joint occupancy of the same premises.

There was a great deal of civic pride involved in the founding of the Mechanics' Institute as well as a sense of the status and stature of the Mechanics themselves. The Montreal Gazette editor wrote:

Our mechanics are as enterprising and ingenious as any in the Empire and it only requires a little exertion on their part, at the commencement, to ensure the establishment of an institution, which, while it will produce the greatest benefit to themselves, will prove an honour to the city itself.¹¹³

John Redpath had raised the issue of civic pride at the opening meeting by citing the First Annual Report of the Charlottetown Mechanics' Institute. In a rhetorical passage in the First Annual Report the Committee raised it again:

We may consider ourselves as in the position of the Commercial Metropolis of Canada; let us endeavour to keep pace in our educational establishments with the growing

prosperity of our country, that we may be enabled to reap the fruits of that prosperity.

Benjamin Holmes, soon to be Member of Parliament for Montreal, was actively involved from the founding meeting, while the Honorable George Moffatt, who would be his fellow-member for Montreal, gave large donations to the Institute. The Mayor, the Hon. Peter McGill, and Councilman Stanley C. Bagg became Life Members by donating £5. to the Institute. John Redpath would be named Councilman in replacement of Charles Tait, as would John Mathewson, in replacement of David Handyside, both appointments having effect in 1840. The founders of the Institute were adherents of the British party, whereas those of the former Institute appear to have been largely from the Liberal Reform element.

It may be that, in part at least, it was a mixture of this civic pride and the knowledge that Montreal was to be the Legislative center as well as the commercial capital of the Canadas that led to a revival of the Institute in late 1843. As already mentioned, in the Spring of 1843, A.W. Delisle, who was Member of Parliament for the County of Montreal, had sponsored a joint petition for the incorporation of the Mechanics' Institute and the Mercantile Library Association. The Governor-General (Sir Charles Metcalfe) had been solicited, Aug. 22, to become Patron and had accepted on Aug. 23, 1843.

Then a Sub-Committee to procure members was appointed Sept. 12, 1843. The Committee included the Councilmen, James Ferrier, who would become Mayor in 1844, Benjamin Holmes, who while still Member

of Parliament now supported the reformers, and John Mathewson. There were also Joseph R. Bronsdon, George Farth, William Spiers, and John White, members of the former institute, John W. Herbert, signatory for the new Institute, and W. Carter, James Dickinson, Librarian, John Dougall, George Hose, Hutchison, John Lovell, J. Mathewson. Thus there may again have been some form of reconciliation of groups involved in this revival of the Institute on the eve of Montreal becoming capital of the united Canadas.

The Mechanic writing under the initials "J.T." addressed the Mechanics of Montreal as Fellow Operatives and hoped that his remarks might draw their attention

to this one means of elevating your moral condition, and enabling you to occupy that standing in society to which you are naturally entitled.¹¹⁴

The Third Quarterly Meeting of Nov. 3, 1840 addressed the members in these terms:

What is it that amongst the turmoil of nations and the continual disorders incident to the best society which makes us look with confidence to our native land, it is our knowledge of the existence of sound moral - public-opinion which pervades the large mass of the middle classes, broadly based upon education and knowledge, and let us ever remember that the best and greatest portion of this class have been recently recruited from the ranks of the Mechanics and Artisans.

There were continuous appeals to Master Mechanics to enroll and to enlist the support of their journeymen and apprentices. At the conclusion of the First Annual Report the Committee urged

upon masters and others who have apprentices in their employ, the duty of availing themselves of the easy terms of

admission into your Institute.

The categories of membership in the Institute were established as follows on Mar. 10, 1840:

Life Members	£5.
Annual Members, Quarterly Members	15s.
Sons and Apprentices (Annual or Quarterly)	5s.

The latter were to be admitted on the recommendation of a member. The last two membership categories changed in 1846 to become three classes of membership, and fees were payable Nov. 1st of each year:

Class 1 Merchants, Masters, Mechanics and Gentlemen	15s.
Class 2 Journeymen Mechanics and clerks	10s.
Class 3 Apprentices and others under 21	5s.

Taking the Quarterly Members, sons and apprentices of the first schedule as the equivalent of classes two and three of the second schedule one can get some idea of the percentages of these members at various points in the Institute's history. One must always remember, however, that there were mechanics and masters among the Annual Members of the first schedule and the Class One members of the second.

The calculations made on this basis give the following results. Journeymen mechanics and apprentices formed 16% of the membership in the first half year; at the end of the first year they were nearly 33% of the membership. The percentage continued to rise reaching 39% at mid year and 44% at the end of the second year. This figure dropped to about 20% through the third, fourth and fifth years of the Institute's

history. In 1856, the year after the Institute had erected its own building, the percentage reached 44% and the following year, 1857, peaked at 68%. In 1865, 1866, and 1867 the percentage was still at about 48%. Then in 1868 it dropped to 35% and the following year, 1869, still further to 30%.

The Sixth Annual Meeting, Nov. 3, 1845, noted that many apprentices had joined the Institute during the year and lauded the

greater interest manifested by the Operative Mechanics in its progress and welfare ... it was established for the purpose of affording to the working classes that instruction in the principles of those arts, in which they are daily practising, and for the extension of the various branches of Science and useful knowledge.

Five years later, at the Eleventh Annual Meeting Nov. 4, 1850, perhaps reflecting the increasing number of Operatives in the Institute the Committee expressed the desire that

a greater proportion of the office bearers than has hitherto been should be chosen from among the operative Mechanic Members of the Institute as it is more especially for their benefit that Mechanics' Institutes were established and they ought to feel a deeper interest in their prosperity than any other portion of the community and are better qualified probably than any other class from their knowledge of the views and tastes of their fellow mechanics to manage its affairs in a manner likely to prove useful and satisfactory.

It was mentioned in the first chapter that the Institute for the period of one year had a category of Lady Members. This was a transitory measure which quickly disappeared. In August 1843, when the

membership of the Institute had fallen to a low of 66 members, including the 17 Life Members, the Constitution was amended to read

*That Ladies be admitted to all the privileges of the Library, Reading Room, Lectures, Museum at the rate of Five Shillings currency per annum.*¹¹⁵

The fee was that required of sons and apprentices. There were 20 Lady Members in the Fourth Annual Report, Feb. 6, 1844, and 21 in the Semi-Annual Report, Aug. 6, 1844. At the same time there is mention of a Ladies Committee to help set up the Annual Festival. In December of 1844 the Institute sought an Act of Incorporation and the Lady Members disappear from view. The only other mention that I found of the Ladies had to do with the Institute acceding to their wishes for a Ball during the Inaugural festivities for the New Mechanics' Hall in 1855.¹¹⁶

It must be noted that in the mid 1850s the Institute continued to portray itself as being composed mostly of mechanics and strongly defended the cause of mechanics and manufacturers. One finds, for example, that the Institute wrote on Oct. 25, 1854 to protest the small number of Mechanics and Manufacturers included in the delegation to the 1855 Paris Fair.¹¹⁷ Jan. 30, 1856 the Institute made Alfred Perry a Life Member "for representing the Manufacturing Industry of Canada at London and Paris." The Essay contest (on the Nature and Objects of Mechanics' Institutes) held in connection with the Inaugural of the Institute's new building was "restricted to the Members of the Institute, who, with some few exceptions, are practical mechanics."¹¹⁸ In a petition to the Governor-General, Sir Edmund W. Head, Mar. 10, 1856 the Institute stated that it had 800 members "chiefly Mechanics"

and that it provided "instruction and assistance in the objects of Mechanics and General Science."¹¹⁹ Later that summer, in August, the Institute presented an Address to the Governor-General on "the condition of the Mechanic or Manufacturer in Canada."¹²⁰ March 4, 1857 the Institute wrote to the Toronto Mechanics' Institute in connection with its petition to the Legislature concerning "the advancement of an act to encourage the Mechanical Industry of the Province."¹²¹

It would appear that one must separate the concept of class from occupation in the discussion of the Mechanics' Institute. Alfred Dubuc has cautioned against "borrowing terms of reference from British society to study Canadian society."¹²² He suggests that there were a succession of rising bourgeoisie who vied for social and political recognition with the established elite. This led to a continual transformation of classes within Canadian society. Brian Young suggests that possession of real property and the accumulation of surplus income were important factors in the rise of the petty bourgeoisie.¹²³ One can find examples of members of the artisan or mechanic class who by these means rose into the upper middle class and beyond. Benaiah Gibb, Stanley Bagg, Thomas Phillips, John Redpath are but several examples of artisans who experienced great social mobility. It would be possible to suggest many more, who born of an artisan parent, experienced a high degree of inter-generational social mobility.

Table of Membership of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal

	Hon.	Life	Annual	Quart.	Apprent. Ann. Qu.	Corr. Total
1840 (Aug.)		11	168	32	4 2	
						217
1841 (Feb.)		16	227	80	11 16	
						350
						<i>Controversial election</i>
						May 4 reported 65 new members - 12 Ann. 22 quart. 31 App.
(Aug.)		17	136	40	37 22	3
						<i>Lost 103 Ann. and 62 Quart.</i>
						255
						Nov. 2 reported 9 new members for a total of 237.
1842 (Feb.)		17	136	55	73	5
						286
(Aug.)		17	162	11	22 12	5
						229
1843 (Feb.)						280
						<i>(no details available)</i>
						<i>Unpopular move.</i>
(Aug.)		17	27	6	7	5
						66
1844 (Feb.)		18	174	8	21 9	5
				Ladies	20	255
(Aug.)		18	194	8	21 9	5
				Ladies	21	276
1845 (Feb.)		20	165	2	40	(5)
				13 Semi-Ann.		245
(Nov.)		18	161		32	211
<i>Change of time of Annual Meeting due to Incorporation.</i>						
<i>Canvass and Address to Mechanics February 1846</i>						
1846 (Nov.)	2	20	219		70	311
<i>New rate schedule and membership classes approved.</i>						
1847 (Nov.)	2	21	222		76	

Admitted 116 new members and 55 apprentices
but 92 memberships lapsed. 321

Membership changed - classes

	Hon.	Life.	1st	2nd	3rd	
1848 (Nov.)	8	19	-	-	-	1
Tot. all classes 396						424

Admitted 172 but 1 expelled and 98 left the City.

1849 (Nov.)	8	19				7
				412		448

Struck off 157 names of refused or neglected to pay or left the City.

1850 (Nov.)	(10)	(20)				7
				(420)		457

1851 (Nov.)	10	20				7
				433		470

1852 (Nov.)						(484)
-------------	--	--	--	--	--	-------

1853 (Nov.)	15	24				7
Admitted 165 but 147 withdrawals.				456		502

1854 (Nov.)	15	140				7
Admitted 259 Ordinary Members, 59 Life				576		738
and 57 former Ordinary became Life; 82 withdrawals.						

1855 (Nov.)	10	157				8
Admitted 308 but 89 withdrawals.				794		969

1856 (Nov.)	10	176	159	200	211	8
Noticed that 100 members were in arrears.						924

1857 (Nov.)	10	178	222	299	377	8
Admitted 210 but 40 withdrawals (had subtracted the 100 in arrears).						994

1858 (Nov.)	10	178				8
Admitted 271 but 130 withdrawals.			939			1135
1859 (Nov.)	10	177				8
Admitted 303 but 527 withdrawals			716			911
1860 (Sept.)	10	176				8
Admitted 307 but 107 withdrawals			917			1111
<i>Change of time of Annual Meeting.</i>						
1861 (Sept.)	10	180				8
(In good standing)			635			833
Admitted 239 but 517 withdrawals.						
1862 (Sept.) - no information						
Building repairs and alterations 1862-32						
1863 (Sept.) - no information						
1864 (Sept.)	10	257				8
			378			653
1865 (Sept.)	10	264	74	175	154	8
				403		683
1866 (Sept.)	10	268	66	142	189	8
Noted that 189 Ordinary members were new.				397		683
1867 (Sept.)	10	270	64	106	177	8
				347		635
1868 (Sept.)	(10)	(270)	64	98	94	(8)
Counted only the Ordinary members.				256		(544)
1869 (Sept.)	10	(268)	56	89	59	8
				204		490

E. Appreciation of the Educational Activity of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal

The Mechanics' Institute of Montreal set its sights firmly on secondary education, that is, an extension of elementary learning. Its classes in Drawing, French, and occasionally Mathematics and Phonography (shorthand), were related to the needs of the artisan or mechanic class. Because its own resources were limited and Government grants were not viewed with the same antipathy as in the voluntarist movement in Britain, it lobbied constantly in the 1850s to obtain the necessary resources. In effect, its actions may have convinced the Government of the rightness of this course of endeavor. Thus it is perhaps not surprising that the Government took over the direction and provision of what would become vocational education.

As for elementary education, the demand was certainly there, given that the public school system was slow at providing for the need. This demand can be seen in the twenty some pupils that attended free classes in 1843-45 and in the large numbers that were found in English education in the ten years 1857 through 1867.

The other finding, perhaps not always apparent to the members of the Institute's executive, was that free schooling attracted many who could not otherwise participate in the benefits of education. The numbers who were enrolled in classes during the years when they were free greatly exceeded those who came forward when fees were required. Hence

their lobbying bore fruit for future students that was not foreseen by some of those who oversaw the provision of classes.

Notes to Chapter Six

1. D.C.B. vii, p. 914.
2. N. Voisine, Les Frères des Ecoles chrétiennes au Canada, p. 315f.
3. J.I. Cooper, The Blessed Communion, p. 43.
4. Ibid., p. 106.
5. Ibid., p. 105.
6. Minute Book September 23, 1842.
7. Montreal Transcript, Feb. 7, 1843.
8. C. Macmillan, McGill and its Story, 1821-1921, p. 142f.
9. S.B. Frost, McGill University: For the Advancement of Learning, vol. i, p. 85.
10. C. Macmillan, op. cit., p. 143.
11. E.I. Rexford, et al., The History of the High School of Montreal, p. 15, names them as Governors of McGill College.
12. Ibid., C. Macmillan, op. cit., p. 155.
13. C. Macmillan, op. cit., p. 161.
14. Ibid., p. 177f.
15. E.I. Rexford, et al. op. cit., p. 7.
16. The Rev. Henry Esson moved to Toronto at the close of 1844, while the Rev. Edward Black died May 7, 1845. Therefore, the Rev. Alex Mathieson was the only Church of Scotland clergyman in Montreal until the Rev. Robert McGill replaced Black Dec. 5, 1845.

17. W.H. Atherton, op. cit., p. 306.
18. C. Macmillan, op. cit., p. 201.
19. E.I. Rexford, et al., op. cit., p. 30f.
20. Ibid.
21. J.I. Cooper, op. cit., p. 61.
22. Ibid., pp. 63f., 68.
23. Ibid., p. 106f.
24. C. Macmillan, op. cit., p. 227.
25. Ibid., p. 230. As will be noted later there were also extensive lectures given by McGill in 1853-54.
26. E.I. Rexford et al., op. cit., p. 38.
27. V. Journal de l'Instruction publique (1857).
28. Report of the Protestant Board of School Commissioners for the City of Montreal 1847 to 1871.
29. E.I. Rexford et al., op. cit., pp. 44, 55.
30. Second Annual Report, Feb. 8, 1842.
31. First annual Report, Feb. 2, 1841.
32. Minute Book loc. cit.
33. Minute Book, Feb. 25, 1850.
34. Minute Book, Oct. 14, 1850.
35. Letter Book to W.E. Logan, Apr. 8, 1857.

36. Ninth Annual Report, Nov. 6, 1848.
37. Annual Report, Nov. 7, 1859.
38. E.g., Minute Book, Jan. 14, 1862; Annual Report, Sept. 5, 1864; Twenty-sixth Annual Report, Sept. 4, 1865; Minute Book, Jan. 8, 1866.
39. Minute Book, Apr. 13, 1868.
40. Quarterly Meeting, Nov. 3, 1840.
41. Minute Book, June 8, 14, 1841; Annual Report, Feb. 8, 1842.
42. Minute Book, May 14, 1840.
43. Third Annual Report, Feb. 7, 1843.
44. Minute Book, Nov. 6, 17, 1843.
45. Fourth Annual Report, Feb. 6, 1844.
46. Minute Book, Mar. 26, 1844.
47. Sixth Annual Report, Feb. 5, 1845.
48. Letter Book to J. Maxwell Mar. 17, 1845.
49. Fifteenth Annual Report, Nov. 6, 1854.
50. Sixteenth Annual Report, Nov. 5, 1855.
51. Seventeenth Annual Report, Nov. 3, 1856.
52. General Committee Minute Book, Mar. 7, 10, 1856.
53. Ibid., Aug. 1, 11, 1856.
54. Ibid., Mar. 3, 1857.

55. Eighteenth Annual Meeting, Nov. 2, 1857.
56. Ibid.
57. Nineteenth Annual Report, Nov. 8, 1858.
58. W.H. Atherton, History of Montreal, 1835-1914, vol. 2, p. 322, and J.G. Hodgins, Brief Historical Sketch of Education in Lower Canada, Eighty Years' Progress of British North America, p. 539, "It has now (1864) six professors and teachers, and is attended by about sixty pupils."
59. Twentieth Annual Report, Nov. 7, 1859.
60. Annual Report, Sept. 3, 1860.
61. Annual Report, Sept. 2, 1861.
62. Ibid.
63. Minute Book, Sept. 23, 1861.
64. Annual Report, Sept. 5, 1864.
65. Minute Book, Sept. 26, 1864.
66. Annual Report, Sept. 7, 1868.
67. Minute Book loc. cit.
68. Annual Report, Sept. 3, 1866.
69. Minute Book, Sept. 24, 1866.
70. Minute Book, Dec. 24, 1866.
71. Minute Book, Oct. 28, 1867.
72. Minute Book, Nov. 25, 1867.
73. Annual Report, Sept. 7, 1868.

74. Thirtieth Annual Report, Sept. 6, 1869.
75. Rapport Annuel du Sous-comité du Bureau de l'Ecole des Arts et Manufactures de la Province de Québec, Documents de la Session (No. 2) 32 Vict. 1869, "depuis que par le règlement des prétensions des entrepreneurs relativement au Palais de l'Industrie, on n'est pas sous l'influence du cauchemar qui durant tant d'années avait paralysé l'action du Bureau ..."
76. Annual Report, Sept. 5, 1870.
77. Minute Book, Sept. 4, 1840, also Sept. 19, 1840.
78. First Annual Report, Feb. 2, 1841.
79. General Committee Minute Book Sept. 4, Nov. 3, Dec. 14, 1841.
80. Minute Book, Oct. 7, 12, 1840.
81. Minute Book, April 19, 1841.
82. Semi-Annual Report, Aug. 2, 1841.
83. Op. cit., Feb. 2, 1841.
84. Minute Book, Nov. 29, 1847.
85. Minute Book, Nov. 26, 1844, Jan. 9, 1845; Letter Book Nov. 30, 1844, Jan. 27, 1845.
86. General Committee Minute Book, Sept. 18, 1848; Minute Book, Sept. 25, 1848.
87. Minute Book, Nov. 25, 1850.
88. Minute Book, Nov. 21, 1853.
89. General Committee Minute Book, Nov. 12, 1855.
90. Annual Report, Nov. 3, 1856.

91. General Committee Minute Book, Oct. 20, 1856.
92. Annual Report, Sept. 4, 1865; Annual Report, Sept. 3, 1866.
93. Second Annual Report, Feb. 8, 1842; Minute Book, Mar. 15, 1841.
94. Letter Book, Aug. 6, 1842; L.-P. Audet, Correspondence of J.-B. Meilleur, p. 80. There are differing accounts of the fate of the Normal School equipment. L.-P. Audet's article states that they were offered to Collège de l'Assomption which refused them because it did not wish to be indebted to the Government whereas C. Macmillan op. cit., p. 155, states that McGill received "a few books and some scanty equipment."
95. Minute Book, Mar. 26, 1844, July 17, 1844.
96. Third Annual Report, Feb. 7, 1843.
97. Op. cit., Feb. 11, 1843.
98. Semi-Annual Report, Aug. 1, 1843.
99. V. Jan. 21, 1856 request from Chambly Mechanics' Institute to borrow materials for a Festival.
100. Minute Book, Aug. 12, 1850.
101. Minute Book.
102. Annual Report Nov. 4, 1850; but the Institute declined to award the second life Membership to C.W. Meakins Jr. V. Minute Book, Nov. 25, 1850.
103. Minute Book, Nov. 25, 1850.
104. Minute Book, July 26, 1853.
105. Annual Report, Nov. 5, 1855.
106. Minute Book, Nov. 24, 1856, Dec. 3, 1856.
107. Minute Book, Nov. 3, 1856.

108. Report of the Board of Arts and Manufactures, Sessional Papers (No. 4) 26 Vict. 1863.
109. Minute Book, July 9, 1855.
110. Montreal Transcript, Feb. 8, 1840; handwritten copy on first page of Minute Book.
111. Montreal Gazette, Feb. 2, 1841.
112. Letter Book to Alfred Phillips Mar. 13, 1843; Semi-Annual Report, Aug. 1, 1843.
113. Op. cit., Feb. 11, 1840.
114. Montreal Transcript, Feb. 13, 1840.
115. Minute Book, Aug. 1, 1843.
116. General Committee Minute Book, May 23, 1855.
117. Letter Book.
118. Report of the Essay and Opening Address Committee.
119. General Committee Minute Book.
120. General Committee Minute Book, Aug. 11, 1856.
121. Letter Book.
122. Problems in the Study of the Stratification of the Canadian Society from 1760 to 1840, p. 15.
123. B. Young, In Its Corporate Capacity, pp. xiv, 100, 165. He wrote, "The construction trades provide dramatic examples of the transition. While many masons, carpenters and joiners slipped from artisanry into wage labour, others accumulated fortunes in the large transportation and institutional construction projects that characterized Montreal as it industrialized."

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Chapter Seven: Conclusion

The Montreal Mechanics' Institute was founded in November 1828 at a time when there were already about one hundred institutes in Great Britain. It is patent that the educational purpose tied together its activities. The extension of schooling for the lower classes in both England and the Canadas may have made mutual instruction and the formation of classes for and by the working class apt. Because of this, I think that it would be pertinent to examine the mechanics' institute movement in Great Britain as well as Canada within the educational context. This context makes sense of the motives that led the Montreal institute's promoters to set forth a program of educational activities.

I have suggested that the classes of the first Montreal institute may have filled a particular niche on the education scene, providing a means for mechanics' apprentices to receive an elementary education and to extend their knowledge beyond that level. This might have made up for the loss of the domestic setting of the master's house in complying with educational provisions in the apprenticeship indentures. The establishment of a school was an integral part of the plan for the institute from its founding. The institute's promoters originally envisaged a school for mechanics' sons as well as apprentices, but when the school was inaugurated in 1833-34 the evening classes were attended primarily by apprentices.

The more affluent mechanics apparently preferred to send their sons to day schools, and where possible to the elite grammar schools of Montreal. The rise of a number of select or middle class private venture schools in the early 1830s may have been in response to this demand. Certainly attendance at daytime classes would have enhanced the status of mechanics' sons and marked them off from apprentices. The rise of Day Schools in connection with mechanics' institutes in Britain (London 1832, Manchester 1834, Liverpool 1837 and Leeds 1845) may have been similarly motivated by the increasing affluence of mechanics and tradesmen and the loss of access to grammar schools. The day school established in connection with the second Montreal institute appears to be connected with the attempt to counter Anglican initiatives in education. What is needed are studies which set the institutes within the context of educational provision and expectation and examine the relationship of such schools and classes to the educational provision available to the lower middle classes. It is only in this way that it will be possible to properly assess the educational aims and achievements of the Institutes.

The move in the professions to ally clericulture with formal studies, for example, gives one point of reference. However, the first enthusiasm for science in the mechanics' institute movement waned and there was more concern for general education, including general literature and history. As much as artisans and mechanics might have wished to emulate the use of lectures and classes by medicine, law and later the developing new professions of architecture, engineering, etc., to replace or complement apprenticeship, they found apparently that the latter was

still more relevant for skills than schooling. It seems that the pertinence of the physical sciences to the various trades was not apparent nor proven. Trade skills and the necessary technical knowledge could be provided best through on the job training. On the other hand, affluent mechanics were desirous of establishing their sons' social status.

In the Montreal institute as in Britain, the majority of the pupils were in need of elementary classes. Moreover, it was in the area of elementary education, drawing and mathematics that formal classroom activity was most desirable. Seen in this light it is perhaps anachronistic to differentiate too finely between technical education and general education in the 1820s, 1830s and 1840s. Certainly the program of studies proposed for the institute was broadly based, encompassing the arts, science and useful knowledge. The original school proposal was perhaps modelled after the academy or grammar school. Later adaptation of the program brought it more into line with current extensions of elementary education.

Although science was not the primary concern of the Institute, it did have a place in the program. The attempt to suggest that the institutes presented pure rather than applied science, however, does not ring true to the presentation in the Montreal Mechanics' Institute. Here, for example, lectures on Chemistry by Dr. A.F. Holmes ran concurrently with lectures on Materials used in the act of Building. In the ordinary meeting of the institute there was an interest in practical affairs such as roads and bridges, building materials, a dough kneading machine, a

brickmaking machine, a means of boiling grain to feed cattle, supplying ink to the printing press, and improvements to the steam engine. When the total program of the institute is taken into account there is a well rounded presentation of science.

Overall, however, both in lectures and in the classroom the program of the Montreal institute was intended to be encyclopedic in nature. Lectures on political economy and chemistry ran concurrently. Discussions and conversations were wide-ranging. Reading was to be the means of acquiring knowledge which could be presented to others. Indeed, lectures on elocution point up one of the purposes set forth by the Quebec Mechanics' Institute and other groups, which was to enable members to acquire facility in public speaking. The very form of mutual instruction in which members took turns presenting the results of personal study would bring diversity of subject matter as well as of topics. The mounting of festivals and exhibitions from the early 1840s had its counterpart in the agricultural fairs and exhibitions which were spoken of as "schools of agriculture." There is a need for studies of individual institutes which take account of the thrust of the entire program rather than seeking to explain the whole by one aspect of the program.

The clientele of the first institute, the Montreal Mechanics' Institute, was similar to that which Charles Baker saw in 1837 as the target group for the institutes, namely, "builders, joiners, smiths, wrights and handicraft trades." The masters of the building trades appear to have played a large part in the first Institute. The \$2.00 annual subscription

fee, which was the equivalent of two days' wages for journeymen who lived out or one week's wages for the journeyman boarded by the master craftsman, and the fact that many journeymen and apprentices were no longer boarded within the master's house and therefore became subject to unemployment or underemployment during the winter season, would probably have precluded from membership those who worked for wages. Hence the institute's membership was composed largely of employers of labour, independent craftsmen and shopkeepers.

Like many of the institutes in Great Britain the Montreal Mechanics' Institute was originally non-establishment, non-conformist in nature. The executive was composed of those who were patrons of non-Anglican education. Its members appear to have been largely sympathetic to the reformers, supporters of the Popular Party until the realignment of 1832. In this respect the Montreal Institute does not differ greatly from other early mechanics' institutes in the Canadas (Quebec, Kingston, and York). It may be that the reformers, who supported the introduction of Lancastrian schools to the province, were advocates of a wider extension of education to all classes of the population.

The Montreal Mechanics' Institute, as well as the Quebec Mechanics' Institute, perhaps abetted by the reformers' control of the House of Assembly, sought Government grants as early as 1831. The Upper Canada Mechanics' Institutes at Kingston and York were not far behind. This lack of aversion to government funding contrasts greatly with the various statements in Britain which evinced distrust and suspicion of Government control. Indeed, it may have been the contest between the

reform-minded House of Assembly and the Legislative Council controlled by the British party which made such grants acceptable.

The history of the first Montreal institute and of other institutions in Montreal, particularly the churches, shows clearly how difficult it is to employ theories of social control. The mechanics and tradesmen who made up the institute were part of the rising bourgeoisie which profited from the large construction projects underway and by means of their increasing affluence rose in social standing. They acquired commercial directorships in banking and transportation as well as positions in social institutions and charities. Criticism of their meagre educational attainments may well have led them to aspire to cultural pursuits such as those presented by the Mechanics' Institute but there was no element of compulsion in membership or attendance.

It would be difficult to apply the hypothesis of marginal men seeking social legitimacy to those who were promoters of the second institute. The president had access to the Governor and Special Council and several of the first executive were appointed to the Montreal City Council. They were those whose affluence permitted them to rise to positions of prestige and to play a role in many of the government and civic institutions as well as the churches. Many of them experienced a great deal of social mobility within their lifetime and were able to establish their sons' social status.

The Mechanics' Institute of Montreal founded in 1840 would appear to have been affected by the turmoil of the early 1840s as supporters of the British party and the reformers vied for control of the political

institutions. Established in a burst of civic pride at a time when the British party was politically ascendant in Montreal, it underwent a steep decline in fortune at the time of the advent of the reformers to power. Civic pride fostered by the move of the provincial capital to Montreal and a desire to counter Anglican pretensions in education may have motivated the renewal of the institute late in 1843.

The clientele of the second institute was more inclusive than the first had been. Nevertheless, the institute continued to speak of itself as composed of mechanics and acted as a lobby on behalf of mechanics and manufacturers. Other institutions arose that were similar in purpose to the Mechanics' institute. Clerks established the Mercantile Library Association in 1841 on the basis of an American model rather than the London-based Literary and Scientific Institutes. It is, therefore, difficult to speak of a swing within the Mechanics' institute toward the ambitious white-collar workers. In 1844 when Montreal became the capital of the Canadas reform-minded French-Canadians founded the Institut Canadien. The Roman Catholic hierarchy countered with the Cabinet de Lecture paroissial.

The Mechanics' Institute of Montreal offered an almost continuous series of classes from 1840 through to 1869 and attempted to maintain the focus on secondary studies. Even when elementary education was presented it was acknowledged that the principal aim was elsewhere. Drawing and French, in particular, were offered year after year. The second Montreal institute was, however, less diffuse than the British institutes in the subjects that it offered. Many of the secondary

subjects offered in the larger institutes there, such as chemistry, botany, physiology, Latin and German, had no place in the Montreal scheme.

Surprisingly, although female membership and female education were increasingly part of the work of the British institutes, they were not part of the Montreal Institute's mission. Certainly female education was valued and catered for in Montreal. It may be, however, that there was sufficient provision for them and that girls were educated before domestic placement so that there was little need of remedial education or evening classes for those who were working.

At the time of the establishment of the second institute in 1841 there were about 260 institutes in Great Britain. Moreover, the Church of England had begun to found rival institutes after 1835, and the government after establishing the Central School of Design in 1836 began to open Schools of Design in the provincial cities from 1841. There was emphasis on drawing as a subject which was important to manufactures. Then increasingly through the 1840s there was growing advocacy of what would be seen as education for artisans and skilled workmen. This found an echo in the institute's address to Governor-General Head which expressed the hope that the time would not be long before the Mechanic might have his college in the same way the Professional Man had his and that the Mechanics' ingenuity would be rewarded even as the labor of the Agriculturist was.

It was its very success in educational endeavor in 1853-54, limited though it may be, that incited the Institute to lobby for Government aid for the classes, the reference library and the museum and model room. This, in turn, may have been one of the factors that led to the Government's assumption of the provision of the education necessary. All of this was taking place at the time of greatest concern for industrial education in England. There had been various advocates of such an education from the mid 1840s, rising to a crescendo in the years immediately before and after the Great Exhibition of 1851. In Britain, however, Government was not directly involved until the end of the 1850s, when the Department of Art and Science took over the examinations previously administered by the Royal Society of Arts from 1855.

In 1857 the government of the Canadas established the Board of Arts and Manufactures and the Board of Agriculture. From 1857-58 to 1860-61 the Board of Arts and Manufactures provided a subsidy toward the classes of the Institute and took over the provision of lectures. Then in 1861, because of financial difficulties arising from the expenditure on the Exposition for the visit of the Prince of Wales, the Board was forced to discontinue the grant and suspend the lectures. The classes in the Institute ceased after the 1868-69 season when the Board freed of its burden of debt took over the provision of classes previously offered under various auspices.

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Appendix A: Education in Montreal between 1815 and 1840

Education in Montreal between 1815 and 1840

The five appendices which follow were constructed on the basis of the sources mentioned at the end of each individual appendix. To that material I have added references, citations and other information from various sources: newspapers, historical accounts, dictionary articles etc. I am responsible for the attempt to classify the schools on the 1825 and 1835 lists by the fees which are found in A Dufour's thesis.

Appendix 1a: List of Schoolmasters, etc., in 1819

William Andrews, Ladies Seminary, 19 St-Jacques St.

(William Andrews Jr. was organist at Christ Church - "English Church". V. ad in Montreal Gazette June 18, 1827 for William Henry Ladies' Boarding School, Mr. and Mrs. Andrews.)

(Rev. J. Bethune, 35 St. Laurent St. Brother, Alexander N. Bethune, master of National School for most of 1819 and received Government salary.)

Elizabeth Biggins, schoolmistress, 12 Campeau St.

(John Bapt. Bordee, house of industry 16 Campeau St.)

Mrs. Thomas Collins, schoolmistress, 9 St. Pierre St.
(husband a painter)

Michael Connelly, schoolmaster, St. Nicholas Tolentine St.

Robert Dale, schoolmaster, 18 St. Jacques St.

Mr. Dalrymple, schoolmaster, 47 Notre Dame St.
(Miss Dalrymple dress and bonnet maker)

Veuve Derome, 4 de la Visitation St.

Veuve Desrivieres, schoolmistress, 99 St. Laurent St.

John Dogherty, schoolmaster, 58 Notre Dame St.

Mrs. Duff, teacher of dancing, 129 St. Paul St.

(Rev. Mr. Easton, 12 St. Pierre St.)

Mrs. Fisher, schoolmistress, 105 St. Laurent St. V. 1825.

John Hanamney, schoolmaster, 3 Alexis St. Mercantile and mathematical academy,

Mrs. Hanamney's seminary for young ladies - every branch of a genteel education (music and dancing excepted)

Mrs. Mary Hanamney at same address was listed as a dressmaker and milliner

Mr. and Mrs. Holmes, ladies and gentlemen's seminary, 128 St. Joseph St. Recollet suburb. They were appointed to the National School late in 1819 until about 1829, and he was Schoolmaster at Rawdon 1831; it was possibly his wife (widow?) who had a school in Ste. Anne suburb in 1835.

(Rev. George Jenkins, chaplain to forces and lecturer at English church, 20 St. Urbain St.)

Mme. Joubert, schoolmistress, 1 Voltigeurs St.

Mrs. Keo, schoolmistress, 31 St. Maries St.

Mrs. Knight, boarding school, 7 St. Vincent St.
v. D.C.B. viii 734-5

Jean Langlade, principal teacher in the public school opposite the seminary, 30 Notre Dame St.

John McConnell, schoolmaster, Fortification Lane

Jane McFarlen, schoolmistress to the Ladies Benevolent Society, 19 St. Maurice St.

Mrs. Manson, schoolmistress, 112 St. Antoine St.

Thomas Neagle, schoolmaster, 49 St. Antoine St. V. 1825.

(Nickless & McDonald, booksellers and stationers, circulating library and reading room, 98 Notre Dame St.)

William Norwood, schoolmaster and surveyor, 2 St. Henry St.

Mrs. Thomas Plucknett, ladies' boarding school, 90 Notre Dame St. V. 1825.

Bernard Rafferty, schoolmaster 122 St. Laurent St.

William Ryan, Montreal Academy, 19 St. Paul St.,
residence 11 St. Charles Borromée St.

Alexander Skakel, 27 St. Jacques St. He was appointed Grammar Schoolmaster late in 1818.
v. D.C.B. vii 809-10

Peter Smith, music school, 110 St. Paul St.

Miss Smyth, 63 Notre Dame St.

(Rev. James Somerville, 105 St. Antoine St.)

Alexander Stevenson, schoolmaster, land surveyor, etc., 23 St. Jacques St.; at same address Adolphus Frederick Stevenson, notarial student

Playeur Vaseau, teacher, 12 St. François Xavier

Sarah Wilson, 15 St. Antoine St.

Source: T. A. Doige, An Alphabetical List of Merchants, Traders and Householders Residing in Montreal 1819-1820, Montreal 1820, reprinted 1899

Appendix 2a: Schools and Schoolmasters in 1825

Quebec suburb: population 3670; aged 6-14 659; 14-18 269; total 928. 172 pupils; 71m., 101f.

**Parish school (opened 1819) - French class (mixed) Ange Jourdain
veuve Sarault**

**- English class (mixed) Misses Ferguson
(taught reading, writing and calculation in both classes)**

**The three schools which follow charged fees which were slightly
higher than the parish school but competitive with each other.**

**Mr. and Mrs. Austin George - English school - boys class
- girls class
(taught reading, writing, calculation and needlework)**

**Miss Catherine Davies - English school - mixed class
(taught reading, writing and needlework)**

**Mr. John Murphy - English school - mixed class
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic and grammar)**

**St. Louis suburb - population 875; aged 6-14 143; 14-18 70; total 213. 94
pupils; 69m., 25f.**

**Bishop Lartigue's school (founded 1825) - French class (boys) 60 pupils
in 1825.
(taught reading, writing and calculation without charge)**

**Orphan Asylum (Lancastrian) - (opened 1822 after dissolution of the
Female Benevolent Society) - Miss Langhorn - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, calculation, needlework, cooking and religion.
V. Bosworth, p. 184, "the rudiments of a religious and useful English**

education") Boarding school institution which apparently took paying students as well until about 1832.

There were 34 pupils 9m., 25f.

St. Laurent suburb - population 6645; aged 6-14 1079; 14-18 515; total 1594. 528 pupils; 319m., 209f.

Parish school (opened 1795) - French class (girls) Dlle. (=veuve?)

Deseve

(taught reading and writing)

- French class (boys) M. Deslauriers

(taught reading, writing and calculation without charge)

Parish school (opened 1815) - Bilingual class (mixed) Mrs. Henry Yon

(taught reading, writing, calculation, needlework and drawing)

The school below charged the same modest fee as Mrs. Yon in the Parish school.

Mrs. Thomas Bell - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, needlework and embroidery)

The four schools listed below charged fees which were slightly higher than the Parish schools but competitive with each other.

Mme. Grenon - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation and grammar)

Mrs. (note in Perrault reads widow) Daniel Fisher - English class

(mixed) V. 1819 list supra.

(taught reading, grammar and needlework)

Mrs. William Bell - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation and needlework)

Miss McLane - Bilingual class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation, grammar and needlework)
In Perrault this is listed as a school for the deaf and dumb

The school below was probably a select or middle class school charging fees about 10 shillings or \$2.00 a month. It extended elementary education by offering arithmetic and grammar.

Classical and Commercial English School - P. Gee - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, calculation, arithmetic and grammar)

The school below was founded to promote the education of the labouring classes. It also extended elementary education by offering grammar and geography.

British and Canadian School - Lancastrian (founded Sept. 1822) -

T. Hutchins - English class for boys

- English class for girls

(taught reading, writing, calculation (to girls), arithmetic (to boys), grammar and geography in both classes and needlework to the girls without charge)

In 1825 the school was still meeting in the building on Craig St. formerly used for the Montreal General Hospital. The school obtained its own building which opened in 1827.

St. Antoine suburb - population 1409; aged 6-14 239; 14-18 128; total 367. 197 pupils; 94m., 103f.

Parish school (opened 1818) - French class (mixed) Veuve Derome
(taught reading and writing)

- English class (mixed) Marie Lebrun

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography)

Note that the latter class offered extended elementary education.

The school below charged modest fees.

Widow Elizabeth Finkin - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, calculation and needlework)

The next school was probably for the lower middle class or steadily employed working class; it charged fees of 6 to 7 shillings or \$1.20-1.59 per month. Elementary education was extended with arithmetic, grammar and bookkeeping.

Lancastrian English Mercantile and Mathematical School (founded 1817) - Thomas Neagle - English class (mixed) V. 1819 list.

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and bookkeeping)

Neagle was listed as a member of the Hibernian Society in 1824 and was one of the petitioners for the enlargement of the Recollet chapel in 1826. In April 1826 he moved his school to the corner of McGill and Notre Dame Sts. and advertised a female department supervised by his wife. Subsequently he was chosen as master of the Royal Institute school at Terrebonne by the curé St. Germain but proved deficient in French and was replaced in the fall of 1828. At the time of the 1831 census (v. infra) he was again teaching in the West Ward.

The school below was probably a select or middle class school with fees set at about 12s6d or \$2.50 per month. Secondary education was offered in that the curriculum included grammar, mathematics, geography and history.

Montreal English and Classical Academy (possibly founded as a proprietary or sponsored school as early as 1823; it was operated by John Bruce from 1825) - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, mathematics, geography, history and bookkeeping)

Bruce moved the school to 23 McGill St. in 1826. He and his wife, Mary Campbell, who died age 36 in April 1830, accused Esson of drunkenness in 1829; Esson claimed that Bruce and his wife took the lead in the proceedings out of pique "on account of some supposed interference with the interests of their school".

St. Joseph suburb - population 2764; aged 6-14 468; 14-18 224; total 692. 336 pupils; 303m., 33f. (9 from other suburbs and the city; 103 from outside the county)

Petit Seminaire - French class (boys)
- English class (boys)

(in both classes taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and bookkeeping) Boarding school as well as day students.

- Advanced classes taught in French to male students (subjects included mathematics, Latin, Greek, literature, philosophy, rhetoric and theology)

The college dates from 1767 and was transferred to Montreal from the parish of Longue Pointe in 1790. After the fire of 1803 a new building was erected in St. Joseph suburb and occupied from 1806. In 1825 the principal was Rev. P. Roque and he was assisted by 3 professors and 5 regents. There were 111 students boarding in the college and 175 day students.

The next school charged very modest fees and became the Parish school in 1828.

Mme Turcot - French class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing and needlework)
There were 50 pupils 17m., 33f.

Ste. Anne suburb - population 1192; aged 6-14 185; 14-18 85; total 270. 44 pupils; 24m., 20 f.

The two schools which follow charged modest fees in line with many of the Parish schools.

Miss R. Barnard - English class (mixed)
(taught reading and writing)

Mrs. Robert Taylor - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, calculation and needlework)

Pointe à Callières - population 622; aged 6-14 97; 14-18 28; total 125. 43 pupils; 7m., 36f.

Hôpital général - school for foundlings and school for Irish orphans. The classes were taught in French and were mixed.

(taught reading, writing, calculation, needlework, knitting, cooking and embroidery without charge) Boarding school.

In 1825 there were 43 children, 7 of whom were boys.

Old City - population 5363; aged 6-14 716; 14-18 568; total 1284. 1289 pupils; 656m., 633f. (42 from outside the county).

Parish school (opposite the Church and Seminary, 30 Notre Dame St.) -

MM. Lafontaine et Beaudry - 2 French classes (boys)

(taught reading, writing and calculation without charge)

Parish school (opened 1815, Bonsecours Chapel, St. Paul St.)

- French class (mixed) Dlle. Elizabeth Giroux

(taught reading, writing, calculation and needlework)

Parish school (opened 1819 Recollet Chapel, Notre Dame St.)

- English class (boys) Mr. Clark

(taught reading, writing and arithmetic without charge)

The first attempts to provide for the English-speaking Roman Catholics date from 1817. After the Parish Council (fabrique) repurchased the Recollet Church and convent in July 1818 and repaired it, a school was opened in the west wing; in the early 1820s an orphanage was added. In December 1829 following the lead of their Protestant neighbors the English-speaking Catholics with the assistance of liberal francophones set up the Montreal Recollet School Society. The schools was intended for the children of Irish immigrants and there was to be no discrimination on the basis of religion.

Congregation de Notre Dame petites écoles - 5 French classes (girls)

(taught reading, writing and calculation without charge)

Congregation de Notre Dame boarding school - for boarders and those who took the noon meal only - French class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation, embroidery and drawing)

- English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation, geography, history, needlework, embroidery, drawing)

In 1825 there were 300 pupils.

National School - Bell - English class (boys) Wm. Gordon Holmes (taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography and bookkeeping without charge)

- English class (girls) Mrs. Holmes

(taught reading, writing, calculation, grammar, geography and needlework without charge)

The school was opened by Rev. John Bethune, Church of England clergyman, shortly after his arrival at Christ Church in Montreal in November 1818. It was under the patronage of the local Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge and received a subsidy from the Government. In 1825 there were 338 pupils.

There is no known information about the next school.

Mr. Boyle - English class (boys)

The next school had modest fees slightly higher than those charged by some of the Parish schools.

Mr. Lyle - English class (mixed)

(taught reading and writing)

Montreal Gazette Aug. 26, 1834 obit "90 years of age from Glasgow"

The elementary school which follows was probably intended for the lower middle class with fees in the range of 6 to 7 shillings or \$1.20-\$1.59 per month.

Misses Nelson - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation, needlework and embroidery)

The three schools which follow were select middle class schools offering a secondary education (or in the case of the Misses Nichol an extended elementary education) for monthly fees of about 10s. or \$2.00, 12s6d or \$2.50, and 15s or \$3.00 respectively.

**Mrs. F. Brooks' Boarding school and Academy - Bilingual class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, needlework, embroidery, drawing, music and dance)
Boarding school, day students and those who took the noon meal.**

**Misses F. and C. Nichols - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, needlework and embroidery)**

**Miss Torrance's Academy - Bilingual class (girls)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, needlework, embroidery, drawing, music and dance)**

The following schools were the elite schools of Montreal with monthly fees according to the subjects chosen for each pupil ranging in scale from 20s or \$4.00 at Esson's school, to 22s6d or \$4.50 for Mme. Trudeau and Skakel, and 25s or \$5.00 at Mrs. Plucknett's and the Workmans' schools.

**Montreal Academical Institution - Rev. Henry Esson - Bilingual class (boys)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, mathematics, geography, bookkeeping and Latin) Boarding school and day school.**

In 1825 there were 70 pupils; 17 of these pupils boarded with Esson and another 10 with Urquhart.

The school was founded in the fall of 1822 by Rev. Henry Esson and Hugh Urquhart. The latter gentleman went to Cornwall as District schoolmaster and Church of Scotland clergyman in January 1827. This break may have elicited Esson's publication, A Sketch of the System of Education and course of Study pursued in the Montreal Academical

Institution (Montreal Gazette 1829). Esson continued with a series of assistants and another partnership formed in late 1831, but the school closed in 1834.

Academie de Mme. A. Trudeau - Bilingual class (girls)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, needlework, embroidery, drawing, music and dance)
Boarding school from Jan. 1824 as well as day students.
In 1825 there were apparently 12 boarders.

Royal Grammar School - Alex Skakel - English class (boys)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, mathematics, geography, history, bookkeeping, French, Latin and Greek)
In 1825 there were 38 pupils. V. 1819 list.
Skakel a graduate of King's College, Aberdeen, taught at Quebec 1798-1799, then came to Montreal where he opened a Classical and Mathematical School in 1799. Late in 1818, possibly on the recommendation of John Strachan, who graduated from King's College three years after Skakel, he was appointed master of the Grammar School at Montreal (from 1821 the Royal Grammar School). As such he received a salary from the Government in return for which he was to teach twenty pauper students per year.

Mrs. Plucknett's Academy - English class (girls)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, needlework, drawing, music and dance) v. 1819 list.

Montreal Union School - Alex Workman - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, mathematics, geography, history, bookkeeping, French, Latin, Greek and Hebrew)
The school opened early in 1820, possibly as a proprietary or sponsored school, with Benjamin Workman as a teacher. There is a mention of Rules and Regulations for the Montreal Union School published at Montreal 1820 in A.L. Prentice and S.E. Houston. Through the years it had a number of changes of location and several times extend the list of subjects taught. From 1829 Alexander Workman is listed as Principal Teacher.

Summary Table

	suburbs	Old City	Total
Schools	24	17	41
Pupils	1414	1289	2703
-male			1543
-female			1160
free tuition	479	723	1202 (44.5%)

Ten of the schools are listed as superior schools; one in St. Antoine suburb, one in St. Joseph suburb, and eight in the City.

Sources: C. Perrault Montréal en 1825 (1977)

A. Dufour, Le réseau scolaire de l'Île de Montréal 1825-1835, mémoire de maîtrise Université du Québec à Montréal 1987.

Idem., "Diversité institutionnelle et fréquentation scolaire dans l'Île de Montréal en 1825 et en 1835" R.H.A.F., vol. 41(4) 1988, pp. 507-535.

Appendix 3a: List of R.C. Parish Schools in Montreal in 1828

Quebec suburb -

French class (girls) - Mlle. Desmarais	60 pupils
English class (boys) - Mr. Lyne	25 pupils
English class (girls) - Miss Donnellan	6 pupils
English class (boys) - Miss Waters	12 pupils

St. Laurent suburb -

English class (mixed) - Mr. McBride	10 pupils
French class (girls) - Mlle. Lefebvre	80 pupils
French class (boys) - M. Deslauriers	40 pupils

St. Antoine suburb -

English class (mixed?) - Mlle. Lebrun	40 pupils
French class (mixed?) - Mlle. Marier	70 pupils

St. Joseph suburb -

French class (girls) - Mme. Turcot	50 pupils
Petit Seminaire - Boarding school	170 pupils
- French and English classes	84 pupils

Pointe à Callières -

Grey nuns (Hôpital général) - School and Boarding school for Irish orphans	40 pupils
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Old City -

Parish school - Notre Dame - MM. Bernard et Vézina
92 pupils

Bonsecours - French and English classes for boys and girls
Misses Burroughs and Silver
50 pupils

Couvent Ste. Marie - Mlle de Lepine - for boys and girls
20 pupils

Aux Recollets (Irish Catholic Church) -
- English class (boys) - Mr. Clark
30 pupils
- English class (girls) - Miss Flanigan
50 pupils
- English class (boys) - Mr. Casey
40 pupils
(obit 1829-05-19)

Congregation de Notre Dame - School and Boarding school
300 pupils

Total
1329 pupils

It should be noted that this census ignores Bishop Lartigue's school opened in 1825 which was growing in importance.

Source: L.-P. Audet, Le Système Scolaire de la Province de Québec, vol. v, pp. 46-47

Appendix 4a: List of Schoolmasters, etc. in 1831

West Ward-

(Rev.) A.F. Atkinson - actually the Church of England Parish school devolved on Rev. J. Ramsay in 1830.

Pinsella Beling - for three years until June 1831, Miss Belding was teacher of the Montreal Infant School then proposed to open a select Infant School in St. Peter St.

(Rev. J. Bethune)

Rev. Edward Black - opened a school November 1829. By late 1832 he announced that he would attempt to turn it into a regular Grammar school. In May 1833 the school moved to St. James St.

Mrs. Brooks - Vindicator July 20, 1830 (ad) Place d'Armes in former Dillon residence, Ladies Boarding School with daughters. Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, Geography, Use of Globes, Needlework, Drawing, Painting - French, Italian, Music and Dancing. Gazette Aug. 9, 1832 obit "Mrs. Sarah Ann Brooks for many years an instructress of youth in this city"

John Bruce - V. note 1825 list Montreal English and Classical Academy. (Moved to 23 McGill St. in 1826)

Daniel Campbell

Lewis Desjardins

Margarette Deseve - 1825 in Parish school in St. Laurent suburb.

Elizabeth Easton - Canadian Courant July 4, 1829, pupils of Miss Easton's Ladies Seminary examined

Elizabeth Flanagan - V. 1828 list Recollet School.

Widow Mrs. Goodman

Sarah Heley

Morgan Kelly - V. 1835 list.

Widow King - Canadian Courant Sept. 28, 1831 (ad) Evening School, Mr. King, English education, Griffintown; Vindicator Nov. 13, 1832 James King, Secretary of Philomathic Society; note also offer to teach, etc., for Mechanics' Institute.

Joseph Lancaster - noted educator who kept school in Montreal from 1829 to 1832.

Daniel Mahoney - Vindicator July 7, 1829 (ad) D. Mahony lately teacher as Little Seminary English School to open own school behind Recollet chapel.

Demoiselle Mariee - V. 1828 list St. Antoine suburb Mlle. Marier

Widow Mary McBride - V. 1828 list St. Laurent suburb Mr. McBride - did his widow carry on the school?

Maurice Moriarity

Thomas Neagle - V. 1825 list Lancastrian English Mercantile and Mathematical School - back in Montreal after short period as Royal Institution master in Terrebonne.

Caroline Nickless - V. 1825 and 1835 lists Misses Nichols.

Sarah Sargeant

Joseph Scott - Montreal Gazette Oct. 23, 1828, J.C. Scott, teacher of the Madras System of Education also the System of Enquiry ... intends opening an Evening School ... at his residence on St. Lawrence Hill ... a solid and superior education. This is apparently the Church of England Parish School.

Alex Skakel - V. note 1825 Royal Grammar School
Elizabeth Torrance - V. 1825 list
Alex Workman - V. 1825 list Montreal Union School

East Ward-

John Blackwood - Esson's assistant in the Montreal
Academical Institution

Miss Charlotte Burrough, Bonsecours - V. 1828 list Parish school in
Bonsecours chapel.

(Rev.) Henry Esson - Principal teacher in Montreal
Academical Institution.

William Green, Bonsecours - teacher at National School

J-Bte Leconte, rue St. Jacques

Stephen Scanlan, rue de la Fortification - La Minerve July 23, 1831 (ad)
"comptes et arithmetique mercantile" in evening school. Vindicator June
1831, "Young Ladies Academy. Mr. Scanlan to open female department
... experienced and richly accomplished lady whose qualifications and
acquirements are already known and approved by a large majority of the
respectable inhabitants of this city" V. 1835 list.

St. Louis suburb -

Miss B. MacDonald V. 1835 list (= Miss J. MacDonald?)

Fr. Wilcockes (Orphan Asylum)

Quebec suburb -

Richard Clark

V. 1825 and 1828 Recollet school

Alfred Hart

George R. Sandil

Elizabeth Smith Vindicator Dec. 24, 1830 - fire required
the evacuation of Miss Smith's Boarding School

Pte. St. Charles/Côte St. Paul -

Widow M.F. Donahue

Jane Hidi

Miss Rolland

Summary Table

	Old City	suburbs	total
Colleges and Convents	3	5	8
Elementary schools	17	22	39
Pupils - male	618	978	1596
- female	790	624	1414
Totals	1408	1602	3010

Source: Census of Montreal - Public Archives of Canada census reel C5941)

It should be noted that some female school teachers are missing because the census listed only heads of families and individuals. Among the missing are Mrs. A. Trudeau, Mrs. Wm. Bell, etc.

Appendix 5a: Schools and Schoolmasters in 1835

Quebec suburb - population 5079; aged 6-14 913; 14-18 371; total 1274.
362 pupils, 137m., 225f.

Sulpician school - French class (mixed)
- English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, calculation and grammar)

Sulpician school run by Congregation de Notre Dame
- French class (girls)
(taught reading, writing, calculation, grammar and catechism without charge)
This school and another in St. Laurent suburb were opened in 1833.
There were 272 girls in the two schools in 1835.

The next two schools charged fees comparable to those of the Parish schools. Mrs. Westgate, who was sponsored by the Sulpicians, offered an extended elementary education.

Mrs. Westgate - Bilingual class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, calculation, grammar, geography, history, physics and drawing)

Miss E. Huddell - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic and needlework)

The next two schools charged fees which were slightly higher than those charged by the Parish schools.

Mr. Thomas Jones - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, calculation, grammar, geography and needlework)

Mrs. S. Marshall and Miss Brooks - Bilingual class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, mathematics, geometry,
geography and history) This appears to be a continuation of the school
 run by Mrs. Suzanne Brooks who died in 1832.

St. Louis suburb - population 1210; aged 6-14 198; 14-18 96; total 294. 317 pupils, 158m., 159f. (29 from other suburbs and the city; 3 from outside the county).

- Bilingual class (girls)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, catechism, needlework, knitting and cooking)

Opened in 1825 this school expanded rapidly; by 1832 there were 4 classes including the evening class. In 1835 there were 212 pupils - 143 boys and 69 girls in the school.

N. Bosworth p. 123 "school-house (adjoining St. James's Church)"

Government grants: 1830 £250 for building, 1831 £600 for building, 1832 £200, 1833 £200.

Orphan Asylum - English class (mixed) Opened in 1822.

(taught reading, writing, calculation, needlework, knitting and cooking without charge) Boarding school institution. There were 34 pupils.

N. Bosworth p. 183 "Children of all Protestant denominations are admitted into the asylum, but are afterwards brought up in the principles of the Church of England, uniformly attending the Episcopal place of worship and Sunday Schools".

ibid., p. 184 "The superintendent and matron instruct the orphans in the rudiments of a religious and useful English education; and the girls, in addition to plain needlework, are early taught to share in all the domestic duties of the establishment".

The next school offered a secondary education at fees affordable by the lower middle class or steadily employed working class.

Academie de Mme. Toussaint Cherrier - French class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, use of globes, English, mythology, needlework, embroidery, singing, drawing and music) Boarding school and day students.

The next two schools were select or middle class schools offering a secondary education at fees of about \$2.50 a month.

Mrs. M.E. Rae's Academy - English class (girls)

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, French, singing, drawing, music and dance)

Boarding school and day students.

Miss J. MacDonald's Academy - English class (girls)

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, French, Latin, needlework, embroidery, singing, drawing, music and dance)

Boarding school and day students. Miss B. MacDonald was listed as a teacher on the 1831 census.

St. Laurent suburb - population 9196; aged 6-14 1492; 14-18 712; total 2204. 823 pupils, 420m., 403f. (46 from other suburbs and the city; 1 from outside the county).

Sulpician school - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, calculation, grammar, geography, needlework, embroidery and cooking)

Sulpician school run by Congregation of Notre Dame - French class (girls)
(taught reading, writing, calculation, grammar and catechism without charge)
Opened in 1833. V. note under school in Quebec suburb.

Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society school - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, needlework and knitting without charge)
Opened in 1832.

N. Bosworth p. 185 "This institution ... had for its object the relief of the widows and orphans left destitute by (cholera) ... Since that time destitute widows and orphans have been received .."

Montreal Infant School - English class (mixed) Founded in 1828.
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geometry, geography and natural history without charge)
Government grants: 1832 £250.

British and Canadian School - English class (boys) Opened 1822.
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, mathematics and geography without charge)

- English class (girls)
(taught reading, writing, calculation, grammar, geography and needlework without charge)

N. Bosworth p. 148f. "for the purpose of promoting the education of the labouring classes of the people of every religious persuasion ... This number (275) has been for several years pretty well kept up; but at present it is not so great, as since the troubles commenced, several of the Canadian children have not continued to attend ... Mr. Minchall is

the master of the boy's, and Mrs. Bendall the governess of the girl's School".

Government grants: 1829 £300, 1830 £200 and £700 for building, 1831 £200, 1832 £200, 1833 £200, 1834 £200, 1836 £400.

The next school had fees comparable to the Parish schools.

Mr. F. Miller - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation and needlework)

The next two schools had fees slightly higher than the Parish schools.

Mrs. F. Charles - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation and needlework)

Montreal School - English class (girls)

- English class (boys)

(taught reading, writing, calculation, grammar and geography to both classes)

The next school charged fees in the range of \$1.20-\$1.59 which was probably affordable by the lower middle class or steadily employed working class.

Mrs. William Bell - Bilingual class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation, needlework and embroidery)

Mrs. Bell had a school in 1825; in 1835 her fees were slightly higher and she now taught embroidery.

The next three schools were select or middle class school with comparable fees. While Mrs. Rogers is said to offer an extended elementary education the other two ladies offered secondary education.

Miss Turner's Academy - English class (girls)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, French, singing, drawing, music and dance)
Boarding school and day students

Mrs. M.A. Pringle's Academy - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, French, needlework, singing, drawing and music)
Boarding school, noon meal and day students. Chenneville St.

Mr. Joseph Rogers - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, use of globes, French, Latin and Greek)
Boarding school and day students.

The next school charged fees slightly below those charged by the elite schools.

Taggart and Howden's Academy - English class (boys)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, mathematics, geography, history, bookkeeping, French, Latin, Greek and drawing)
Boarding school and day students. In 1834 moved to 45 Craig St. in rear of Bank of Montreal.
N. Bosworth p. 205 "Messrs. Howden & Taggart's (school), Craig Street"

The next school was one of the elite schools charging fees of about \$4.00 a month.

Rev. James Ramsay - English class (boys)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, mathematics, geometry, geography, history, bookkeeping, Latin, Greek and algebra)
This was a Church of England Parish school founded in 1828 under the patronage of Bishop Stewart.
N. Bosworth p. 205 "Rev. J. Ramsay's (school), Main Street, St. Lawrence Suburbs"

St. Antoine suburb - population 1950; aged 6-14 331; 14-18 177; total 508. 143 pupils, 20m., 123f. (8 from other suburbs and the city; 22 from outside the county).

Sulpician school - French class (girls)
- English class (boys)
(taught reading, writing, calculation and grammar in both classes)

The next school charged fees slightly below those charged by the elite schools.

Misses F. and C. Nichols' Academy - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, use of globes, chronology, French, mythology, astronomy, singing, drawing, music, dance) Boarding school and day students.

This school appeared in the 1825 census with fees charged for a select or middle class school. On the 1831 census Miss Caroline Nickless(sic) was listed as a teacher. In 1835 the fees had increased considerably, the curriculum was extended and the school had moved from the Old City and took boarders.

The next school charged the highest fees of any school in Montreal for a secondary education, more than \$4.80 a month.

Miss Felton's Academy - English class (girls)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, use of globes, French, astronomy, Italian, needlework, embroidery, singing, drawing, music and dance) Boarding school.

N. Bosworth p. 205 "Miss Felton's (school) in St. Gabriel Street"

St. Joseph suburb - population 3825; aged 6-14 648; 14-18 309; total 957. 391 pupils, 234m., 157f. (45 from outside the county).

Petit Seminaire or College - Advanced classes - French (boys)

(taught grammar, mathematics, geography, history, physics, chemistry, English, Latin, Greek, mythology, literature, rhetoric, philosophy and theology) Boarding school and day students.

- French class (boys)

(taught elementary subjects)

N. Bosworth p. 148 "The number of resident pupils now varies from 100 to 130. They are received young; as early as ten or eleven years of age: the regular course of study lasts eight years. Besides the principal, there are in the College four professors and eight tutors".

Sulpician school - French class (mixed)

(taught reading and writing)

The two next schools charged fees slightly above those charged in the Parish schools. Mrs. Charles was sponsored by the Sulpicians.

Veuve Richard Charles - French class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation and needlework)

Miss J. Chisholm - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, needlework and drawing)

The next school charged fees affordable by the lower middle class or steadily employed working class.

Miss E. Byrne - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation, grammar, geography and needlework)

Courant Apr. 11, 1832 Miss Byrne to add Infant School, McGill St.

The next two schools were select or middle class schools offering secondary education, Mrs. Forster at about \$2.00 and Miss Easton at about \$2.50 per month.

Mrs. J. Forster - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, French, needlework, embroidery, singing, drawing and music)

Boarding school and day students.

Miss Easton's Academy - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, use of globes, needlework, embroidery, singing and elocution)

Miss Elizabeth Easton was listed as a teacher in the 1831 census, the year her father, Rev. R. Easton formerly minister of the St. Peter St. Presbyterian Church, died.

N. Bosworth p. 205 "Miss Easton's (school), in Bonaventure Street"

Ste. Anne suburb - population 1650; aged 6-14 256; 14-18 118; total 374. 169 pupils, 89m., 80f.

The next school charged modest fees below what was charged in the Parish schools.

Mrs. Anne Holmes - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, needlework and knitting)

The next two schools charged fees comparable to those charged in the Parish schools.

Mrs. Dade - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing and needlework)

Mr. J. Scanlan - Bilingual class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation and grammar)

The next two schools charged fees slightly higher than those charged in the Parish schools.

Mrs. C. Jells - English class (girls)

(taught reading and singing)

Mr. William Ralph - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, mathematics, geography and needlework)

The next school charged fees affordable by the lower middle class or steadily employed working class.

Mr. James Fraser - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and bookkeeping)

The next two schools were select or middle class schools charging comparable fees. Mme. Lesperance was sponsored by the Sulpicians.

Mme. M.J. Lesperance - Bilingual class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, calculation, grammar, geography, needlework and music)

Miss M.A. Fisher - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, mathematics, geography, history, physics and chemistry)

Pointe à Callières - population 861; aged 6-14 134; 14-18 42; total 176. 96 pupils, 32 m., 64f. (31 from other suburbs and the city).

Hôpital général - school for orphans - Bilingual class (girls)
(taught reading, writing, calculation, needlework, knitting, cooking, embroidery and singing without charge)
In 1835 there were 41 pupils, all girls.

American Presbyterian School - James Munsell - English class (mixed)
Opened 1830.
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography without charge)

In 1835 there were 55 pupils, 32 boys and 23 girls. The school received a Government subsidy.

N. Bosworth p. 114 "there is a Free School connected with this (American Presbyterian) Church, which gives gratuitous instruction to a large number of children"

Old City - population 7422; aged 6-14 991; 14-18 786; total 1777. 1574 pupils, 897m., 677f. (17 from outside the county).

Sulpician School - 3 French classes (boys)

(taught reading, writing, calculation and grammar without charge)

In 1835 there were 146 pupils in this school opposite Notre Dame Church. This school was assigned to the Brothers of the Christian Schools in 1837.

N. Bosworth p. 147 "Connected with it (Seminary of St. Sulpice) is a school for junior pupils on the opposite side of Notre Dame Street, which is conducted by Les Frères des écoles Chrétiennes, and contains about 300 children. The Seminary has also established a number of schools in different parts of the parish for a similar purpose".

Congregation de Notre Dame petites écoles - French classes (girls)

(taught reading, writing, calculation and grammar without charge)

Congregation de Notre Dame Boarding school - French class (girls)

(offered secondary education)

- English class (girls)

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, chemistry, use of gloves, rhetoric, philosophy, needlework, embroidery and singing in both classes)

In 1835 there were 240 pupils in the two schools.

N. Bosworth p. 143 "The Congregation is composed of a Superior and sixty sisters. The object of the institution is female instruction in its different branches; and the greater part of the members are employed in the work of tuition and training. Boarders are taken into the house on moderate terms, and receive a careful education".

Recollet School Society - English class (boys)

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography and bookkeeping without charge)

- 326 -

- English class (girls)

(taught reading, writing, calculation, and needlework)

Founded in 1829 the society assumed work previously done by lay teachers for fees.

N. Bosworth p. 124 "at the east end (of the Recollet Church there is) a School for the children of Roman Catholic parents "

Government grants: 1831 £150, 1832 £60, 1833 £100, 1834 £100, 1836 £300

Société des Dames de la Charité - French class (boys)

(taught reading, writing, calculation and catcchism without charge)

Boarding school founded in 1835.

National School - English class (boys)

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and bookkeeping without charge)

- English class (girls)

(taught reading, writing, calculation and needlework without charge)

N. Bosworth p. 136 "under the patronage of the Montreal District Committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge ... The number of boys in the school is 36 French and 120 English - average attendance about 100; of girls 20 French and 84 English

- average attendance about 70".

Government grants: 1829 £300, 1830 £200, 1831 £100, 1833 £111-2-2, 1834 £111-2-2, 1836 £222-4-4.

The next school charged fees slightly higher than those charged in the Parish schools.

Mrs. L. R. Johnson - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation, grammar and needlework)

The next two schools charged fees affordable by the lower middle class or the steadily employed working class. The Misses Read offered an extended elementary education for about \$1.20-1.59 per month, while Miss Burroughs (one of the lay teachers under

Sulpician supervision) offered secondary education for \$1.60-1.99 per month.

Misses Read - English class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, French, needlework, singing, drawing and music)

Boarding school and day students.

Miss Burrough's Academy - Bilingual class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, calculation, grammar, geography, history, use of globes, needlework, embroidery, singing, drawing and music)

Boarding school and day students. In 1835 there were 43 students.

The next six schools were select or middle class schools. while Miss Grant offered an extended elementary education at about \$2.00 per month, the others offered a secondary education for about \$2.50 per month, with the exception of Mme. Trudeau whose fees were comparable to Miss Grant's.

Academie de Mme. A. Trudeau - Bilingual class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, needlework, embroidery, singing, dance and music)

Boarding school and day students.

This school appears to have dropped in status. In 1825 it was for girls only and was one of the top schools at a fee more than double that charged in 1835.

Miss M. Grant - English class (girls)

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, needlework, embroidery, singing and music)

Miss Torrance's Academy - Bilingual class (mixed)

(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, use of globes, French, needlework, singing, drawing, music and dance)

Boarding school and day students

This is another school that appears to have dropped slightly in status. In 1825 it was for girls only and charged fees of \$2.80-3.19. Its classes are now mixed and it has added French to the curriculum.

Mrs. Fitzgerald and Miss Gale's Academy - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, use of globes, French, chronology, astronomy, Italian, drawing, music and dance). 187 Notre Dame St.

Boarding school and day students.

Canadian Courant Sept. 28, 1831 - Mrs. Fitzgerald to open Seminary for young ladies Oct. 1st. (Note that Rev. Alex Gale, nephew of Henry Esson, was appointed to the Royal institution school at Lachine in Nov. 1831. Were they related?)

N. Bosworth p. 205 "Mrs. Fitzgerald's (school) in Notre Dame Street

Mrs. A. C. Fleming - English class (girls)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, use of globes, French, needlework, embroidery, singing, drawing, music and dance)
Boarding school and day students.

Mr. S. Scanlan - English class (boys)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history and use of globes)
Mr. Stephen Scanlan, rue de la Fortification, is listed as a teacher in the 1831 census.

The next three schools charged fees slightly below those charged by the elite schools, i.e., \$3.20-3.50 per month.

Misses Ford Academy - English class (mixed)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, geography, history, use of globes, French, needlework, drawing and music)
Boarding school and day students
Gazette Oct. 2, 1832, Female Boarding School. Mrs. & Misses Forde (from Dublin) 28 Notre Dame.

Montreal English and Classical Academy - John Bruce - English class (boys)
(taught reading, writing, calculation, grammar, mathematics, geography, history, bookkeeping, Latin, Greek and algebra)

Boarding school and day students. In 1825 the school was in St. Antoine suburb and charged fees around \$2.50. In 1826 the school moved to Notre Dame St. and subsequently added Latin, Greek and algebra to the curriculum offered.

N. Bosworth p. 205 "Mr. Bruce's (school) in McGill Street"

Montreal Union School - Alex Workman - English class (boys)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, mathematics, geography, history, chronology, use of globes, bookkeeping, French and Latin)
This is another school that appears to have dropped in status between 1825 and 1835. In 1825 it commanded fees of \$4.80 and up per month.

Gazette Apr. 29, 1834 - Hospital St. near City Bank.

N. Bosworth p. 205 "Mr. Workman's (school) in Hospital Street"

The next two schools were, along with Ramsay's school in St. Laurent suburb, the elite boy's schools of Montreal, charging fees of \$4.00 per month and up.

St. Paul's School - Rev. Edward Black - English class (boys)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, mathematics, geography, history, bookkeeping, French and applied chemistry)
Boarding school and day students opened in November 1829. In 1835 there were 75 pupils.

N. Bosworth's p. 205 "Rev. Dr. Black's (school) adjoining St. Paul's Church"

Royal Grammar School - Alex Skakel - English class (boys)
(taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar, mathematics, geography, history, bookkeeping, French, Latin and Greek)
Boarding school and day students. In 1835 there were 30 pupils. The fees at the Royal Grammar School dropped slightly from 1825 and were comparable to those charged by Black and Ramsay.

N. Bosworth p. 205 "the Royal Grammar School in Little St. James Street, conducted by A. Skakel, Esq."

Summary Table

	suburbs	Old City	total
Schools	46	20	66
Pupils	2301	1620	3921
- male			2015
- female			1906
free tuition	939	982	1921 (49%)

There were 24 superior schools; three in St. Louis suburb, five in St. Laurent suburb, two in St. Antoine suburb, three in St. Joseph suburb, and eleven in the City.

Sources: A. Dufour, op. cit. and art. cit.

Appendix 6a: Classification of Schools by Monthly Fees

.01 - .39	modest fees below what was charged in the Parish schools
.40 - .79	fees comparable to the Parish schools
.80 - 1.19	fees slightly higher than the Parish schools
1.20 - 1.59	lower middle class or steadily employed working class
1.60 - 1.99	" " "
2.00 - 2.39	select or middle class school
2.40 - 2.79	" " "
2.80 - 3.19	" " "
3.20 - 3.59	schools slightly below the elite schools
3.60 - 3.99	" " "
4.00 - 4.39	elite schools
4.40 - 4.79	" "
4.80+	" "

Appendix B: Members of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute

Members of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute
Appendix no. 1

Known Members of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute up to July 13, 1830

James Allison, Agent for Laprairie Distillery from July 1831 (Vindicator May 25, 1832) opened General land agency for Upper and Lower Canada October 1831 (Courant Oct. 1, 1831)

By 1846 he was an immigration officer at Montreal

Appointed Collector for 6 months on July 7, 1829 at 6 per cent commission (note April 21, 1829 had collected £5.10); Corresponding Secretary July 13, 1830; often acted as Chairman of weekly meeting during 1830 and 1831 as well as Secretary protem; donations - July 13, 1830, Dec. 21, 1830 elk's horn, July 5, 1831 natural curiosities, v. W.F. Wentzel

cont'd Appendix 2

Joseph C. Andrews, painter, partner Boston & Andrews; (Vindicator Feb. 17, 1829 - lost a son Joseph C. Andrews of firm of Boston & Andrews) Committee July 13, 1830; donation of mahogany compasses Feb. 22, 1831 (during Workman lectures)

1825 census East Ward

cont'd Appendix 2

Teavill Appleton, builder, partner Clark & Appleton 1818-1834 Constitution Committee; Collector St. Louis suburb; Committee Dec. 16, 1828, July 13, 1830; committees on Stevenson essay and Ayers model 1825 census St. Louis suburb

1831 census - entrepreneur St. Louis suburb

1842 McKay - builder Dorchester/St. Denis

cont'd Appendix 2

Robert Armour merchant; a founder of the Bank of Montreal but bankruptcy in 1818 prevented participation; April 1827 to Dec. 1832 King's Printer; purchased Montreal Gazette May 1827; 1834-57 Master of Trinity House (1781-1857)

Joined April 21, 1829; committee on Spence model of inking printing press.

Elder of St. Gabriel St. Church March 1819 and although he had been a member of the Committee which raised the guarantee for Esson's salary in 1817 he was a partisan of Black from 1829 and went to St. Paul's Church; he was tried for riot in 1832 in connection with the barricading of St. Gabriel St. Church

1819 list - cashier Bank of Canada, 21 St. François Xavier 1825 census St. Lawrence suburb West

1831 census - merchant in West Ward

1842 McKay - wholesale drygoods 166 St. Paul St.

D.C.B. viii, 21-23.

Robert Armour Jr., studied at Edinburgh University then law student with Samuel Gale - licensed Nov. 11, 1829; edited Montreal Gazette c. 1830-1836, Montreal Almanack 1829-1831; appointed Registrar and clerk of Trinity House 1832; (1806-1845)

Committee Dec. 16, 1828 apparently for six month term; Represented NHS with B. Workman in Dec. 1829 invitation to MI members to attend lectures

Founding member of NHS, Recording Secretary May 1829 to Jan 1831, Council May 1828 to May 1830

1832 backed Bagg

Went to St. Paul's Church with family

v. **D.C.B.** article above

Edward Armstrong, licensed as Harbour Master Jan. 1830

Joined June 8, 1830

1831 census - navigateur in West Ward

1842 McKay - harbourmaster Commissioners Street

J.-M. Arnault, machinist

Committee Jan. 12, 1830 but replaced by James Poet Feb. 16, 1830

1825 census - Doreur et Argenteur sur metaux et Mechanicien - St. Lawrence suburb West

1831 census machinist in West Ward

1842 McKay machinist Craig/St. François Xavier (mechanicien et fabricant de presses)

v. **Appendix 2**

Edwin Atwater, painter 80 St. Paul St. (1808-1874)

Committee July 7, 1829

D.C.B. x, 17f.; for this early date for Atwater's presence in Montreal Vindicator Mar. 25, 1834 (ad) thanks for patronage of last six years (1825 census Albert Atwater household in St. Anne suburb had an unmarried male 14 to 45 years old)

1831 census - peintre West Ward

1842 McKay paints, oil, glass 193 St. Paul St.

William Ayres, painter of houses, signs, etc., glazier; (1782-1832)

Committee Jan. 12, 1830; Jan. 27, 1829 model of baking machine in response to query in American Mechanics' Magazine; committee on Bennett's model; donations of fossils Jan. 19 and July 13, 1830

1819 list - painter 60 St. Charles Borromée

1831 census - peintre in West Ward

cont'd Appendix 2

David Bagg, Superintendent of Lachine Canal

Joined Mar. 2, 1830

1825 census Ste. Anne suburb

1831 census Superintendent of Lachine Canal

James Baird, chairmaker, partner Hilton and Baird 1823-1833; (1795-?)

Joined Nov. 24, 1829; Committee Jan. 12, 1830

1825 census - Atelier et boutique de Meublier

1831 census - ébéniste in West Ward

Married March 1831 by Rev. Edward Black

v. D.C.B. viii, 41f

cont'd Appendix 2

Duncan Bell

Joined Oct. 27, 1829

John Bennett, engineer, partner Bennett & Henderson engine builders

Mar. 31, 1829 model of brickmaking machine; committee on Holwell model of steam engine valves in 1828

1825 census - Moulerie de Bennett et Briggs forgerons-machinistes

Denison, p. 81 bankrupt in 1835

George Bent, former pupil of Montreal Academical Institution,
licensed as pharmacist in 1835
Committee July 7, 1829
joined NHS Feb. 1833; later member of Mercantile Library Association
1842 McKay - Hospital St.
cont'd Appendix 2

M.A. Blanchard
Committee Jan. 12, 1830
?1831 census cordonnier West Ward

S. Blanchard - possibly the name as above (S=Sandy?; M.A. = M.
Alexander?)
Joined Aug. 11, 1829

William Boston, painter, partner Boston & Andrews; (....-1834)
Constitution Committee; Collector in Town; Committee Dec. 16, 1828,
1831; Education Committee 1829; Library Committee; Treasurer 1830-
1834; specimens and paper on pigments Dec. 30, 1828; committees on
Stevenson essay, Hart essay, Spence model; May 18, 1830 asked to
varnish mineral cabinet; Book donation Jan. 13, 1829 - Nicholson Journal
of Arts and Science; Jan. 18, 1830 donation with J.R. Brunsdon of
transparency for over door; Apr. 26, 1831 donation of book on farming,
Land Steward's Guide and Roman coin; v. T. Joseph, Rawdon
1825 census East Ward
1831 census - peintre on rue St. Jacques
Campbell, p. 320, member of committee (with John Allison and Wm.
Peddie) to select precentor for St. Gabriel St. Church in 1817
cont'd Appendix 2

Ls. (=Louis) Boudreau, navigator
Joined Dec. 22, 1829
1825 census St. Joseph suburb
1831 census - navigateur

Lt. Wm. Bradford, 8th Regiment
Joined May 26, 1829; Committee July 7, 1829
1831 census - gentleman in West Ward
cont'd Appendix 2

W. James Brown Jr. (son of James Brown of St. Andrews? v. D.C.B. vii, 111f.; the latter became a Corresponding Member Mar. 16, 1830)
Joined Mar. 2, 1830

J.R. Brunsdon (Brunson), obtained public works contract for the harbour
July 1830

Collector in St. Lawrence, St. Louis and Quebec suburbs; Committee
Dec. 16, 1828, Jan. 26, 1831, replaced Thomas Cliff April 1830;
committee on Ayres model; donation with W. Boston of transparency for
over door Jan. 19, 1830; donation of newspaper files Jan. 26, 1831

1825 census- atelier de charpentiers et menuisiers in St. Lawrence
suburb West

1829 and 1832 Captain of St. Lawrence & Alliance Fire Club v.
Vindicator Aug. 6 and 27, 1830 and Brunsdon's reply Sept. 3, 1830 "I am
a mechanic, and can a great deal better handle my tools than a pen".

1831 census - charpentier in West Ward

1842 McKay carpenters and joiners

cont'd Appendix 2

W. Brunsdon -

Chaired meeting Aug. 25, 1829

Thomas Buchanan

Collector in Town; Committee Dec. 16, 1828; asked for list of members
Apr. 14, 1829

1825 census West Ward

William Buchanan

Committee Dec. 16, 1828; Education Committee 1829

John Cain(e)

1819 list - cabinetmaker 10 St. Maurice St.

cont'd Appendix 2

J.D. Campbell, (son of James Ellice Campbell, timber merchant?)
(....-1831)

joined October 13, 1829

Vindicator, June 10, 1831 "death of J.D. Campbell 29, at home of father
foot of Current St. Mary's"

(John) Carmichael

Committee Dec. 16, 1828; Library Committee

1825 census St. Anne suburb

1831 census - overseer Lachine Canal

James Carswell (Carsuell), cooper-grocer

Committee 1831

Elder of St. Gabriel St. Church, a Black partisan who was tried for riot in 1832

1819 list - James Carsuel cooper; Carsuel & Davis grocers at 3 St. Vincent St.

1825 census East Ward

1831 census - épicier

Joined NHS Feb. 1832

C.H. Castle, licensed as doctor at St. Andrews May 4, 1826;

married daughter of James Brown of St. Andrews 1829; First Teller of Bank of Montreal 1831; later Cashier of City Bank

Joined Jan. 12, 1831

1831 census - teller Montreal Bank, Côte des Neiges

W. Henry Castle

Joined March 2, 1830; Committee July 13, 1830

1825 census East Ward

J.-B. Castonguay

Joined Jan. 19, 1830

There was a Jean-Baptiste Castonguay in the West Ward at the time of the 1831 census who backed Bagg in the 1832 byelection and signed the Loyal Address in Nov. 1832

1819 list - 48 St. Laurent St.

1825 census St. Lawrence suburb West

1831 census - bourgeois West Ward

Acheson Clarke, engineer

Committee July 7, 1829; committees on Hart essay, Holwell model of steam engine valves, Ayres model of baking machine, Bennett model of brickmaking machine, Spence model of inking printing press

1831 census - ingénieur rue de l'eau
cont'd Appendix 2

J.E. Clarke, attorney licensed? (there was Edw. A Clarke licensed Mar. 24, 1823 but I have not found J.E. Clarke)
Joined Mar. 16, 1830

Joseph Clarke (Clark), building contractor, partner in firm of Clark and Appleton 1818 to 1834

Constitution Committee; Collector St. Lawrence, St. Louis and Quebec suburbs; Committee Dec. 16, 1828, July 13, 1830; Education Committee 1829; Committee on Address to Sir James Kempt; 4th Vice President 1831; committee on Holwell model of steam engine valves; essays Jan. 13, 1829 on progress of the Arts, Mar. 24, 1830 on excellence and utility of the Arts, Jan. 19, 1830 on principles of architecture; Dec. 15, 1829 recommended paid lecturer; chaired Annual and Semi-annual Meetings Jan. 12, 1830 and July 13, 1830

1819 list Clarke and Appleton carpenters - workshops in fortification Lane

1825 census - Grand atelier de charpentiers et chauffeire en brique St. Louis suburb

1831 census - entrepreneur
signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832
cont'd Appendix 2

W.J. Clarke

Revision committee for Annual report Jan. 12, 1832
1825 St. Antoine suburb

Robert Cleghorn, gardener

Collector St. Antoine suburb; Committee Dec. 16, 1828; Education Committee 1829; Library Committee; Weekly Topics Committee; donations Jan. 5, 1830 - Register of meteorological observations for 1829, Apr. 12, 1831 - Diary of weather 1830

Founding member NHS

1819 list gardener Sherbrooke St.

1825 census - Grand jardin à fleurs et Verger Pépinière. Serre.
St. Lawrence suburb West

1831 census jardinier West Ward

cont'd Appendix 2

John Cliff, joiner-builder

Constitution Committee; Committee Dec. 16, 1828, July 13, 1830;

Committee on Ayres model

Vindicator Sept. 1830 "a man of science and much talent in his profession"

1831 census - menuisier in West Ward

signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832

1842 census - architect in St. Lawrence Ward

cont'd Appendix 2

Thomas Cliff, cabinetmaker

Joined Sept. 15, 1829; Committee Jan. 12, 1830 but replaced April 6, 1830 because absent from the city

James Cooper, joiner

Committee July 7, 1829, 1831; April 7, 1829 essay on Canadian window and door, April 14, 1829 model of machine for boiling grain for feeding cattle, June 29, 1830 showed geometrical staircase in his house; donation of mineral specimens (talc and limestone) Jan. 5, 1830; gift of 3 quires of paper Mar. 16, 1830; Committee on Bennett model

1825 census St. Louis suburb

1831 census - menuisier in St. Louis suburb

1842 census - charpentier St. Denis St.

cont'd Appendix 2

Wm. Coote, Montreal Distillery

Joined Sept. 8, 1829; Committee Jan. 12, 1830

1825 census - St. Anne suburb

?1842 McKay - forwarding merchant, railway wharf - St. Jean-sur-Richelieu

Joseph Courcelle, dit Chevalier, builder (....-c. 1833)

Joined Dec. 29, 1829

Member of Notre Dame Church Building Committee

former building partner of Thomas Phillips (v. Montreal Gazette Oct. 24, 1817

1819 list - mason at 15 St. Urbain St.

Apparently died before 1834, because notice re: estate is found
Vindicator Jan. 14, 1834

James Coward Chandler
Committee Jan. 12, 1830
1825 census St. Lawrence suburb West
1842 McKay - soapmaker St. Urbain/Lagauchetière

T.A. Cuvillier, auctioneer, member of House of Assembly 1814-1830 for Huntingdon, 1830-1834 for Laprairie; Jan. 1828 carried petition to Great Britain which brought about recall of Dalhousie but was estranged from L.-J. Papineau in 1829 and backed Bagg in 1832 byelection (he was accused of ordering the troops to fire); defeated in 1834 elections because he had refused to support the 92 resolutions; Founder and Direct of Bank of Montreal from 1819 and one of its principal French-Canadian shareholders he attempted to reconcile mercantile interests with French-Canadian nationalism (1779-1849)

Joined Dec. 8, 1829
1819 list - auctioneer 89 Notre Dame
1825 census St. Lawrence suburb East
1829 Armour - executive of Montreal Agricultural Society
1842 McKay Cuvillier & Sons - merchants
D.C.B. vii, 224-228

L.E. Decasse, carpenter
Joined March 2, 1830
1831 census - charpentier in Quebec suburb

Alex Douglas, shoemaker; (....-1832)
Committee July 7, 1829; donation Apr. 19, 1831 with C. Wilkinson of 1812 War souvenirs
Precentor in St. Gabriel St. Church he was a Black partisan
Died Jun 26, 1832

Thomas English
1825 census West Ward - Boarding house?
1842 McKay Belfast Hotel Commissioners St. and St. Joseph

Rev. Henry Esson, Church of Scotland clergyman, Minister of St. Gabriel St. Church, Principal teacher in Montreal Academical Institution; centre of a dispute over pulpit of St. Gabriel St. Church; campaigned for recognition of claim of Church of Scotland to co-establishment with the Church of England and to this end edited Canadian Miscellany April to August 1828 to counter John Strachan's assertions; appeared before the Committee on Education of the House of Assembly in Jan. 1829 to advocate the rights of the Church of Scotland to greater participation in the management and teaching of schools belonging to the Royal Institution (1793-1853)

Both the NHS and the Mechanics' Institute were founded in Esson's house; Constitution Committee; 4th Vice-President 1828; Education Committee 1829; 1st Vice-President 1830; Chaired most of the early meetings of the Institute; Committee on Address to Sir James Kempt; Weekly Topics Committee

1825 census East Ward

1831 census on Bonsecours St.

1842 McKay St. Peter St.

D.C.B., viii, 272f.

cont'd Appendix 2

William Farquhar, jeweller (v. Vindicator ad of Jan. 21, 1831)

Constitution Committee; Committee Dec. 16, 1828, 1831

Joined NHS July 1827

1825 - boutique de horloger et bijoutier in East Ward

1831 (ad supra) Notre Dame St.

John Fellows, blacksmith, was master blacksmith for building of Notre Dame Church

Joined Feb. 16, 1830; Committee 1831; donation April 26, 1831 of balloting beads

1819 list - blacksmith at 4 Chenneville St.

1825 census - atelier de forgerons in St. Lawrence suburb West

1831 census - forgeron West Ward

v. R. Tremblay thesis, p. 112 citing records of notary George D. Arnoldi
- had contract to produce inking machine of William John Spence May 31, 1830

John Flemming, painter-plasterer

Committee July 13, 1830
1831 census - plasterer in West Ward
cont'd Appendix 2

Archibald Fletcher, baker (1788-1831)
Joined Mar. 2, 1830
Black partisan but joined Congregational Church
1831 census - boulanger

(J.-B.) Franchère, clockmaker (related to Dr. J.D. Arnoldi's wife?)
Committee Jan. 12, 1830
1829 Armour - 2nd Lt. Phoenix Volunteer Fire Club
1831 census - horloger Bonsecours St.
1842 McKay - watchmaker and jeweller 173 Notre Dame St.
cont'd Appendix 2

George Franklin
Joined Sept. 15, 1829

...Freeland
Committee Dec. 16, 1828
There were two Freelands - William merchant, who joined NHS Nov. 1827, and Peter, chandler (1825 census Ste. Anne suburb Manufacture de savon et de chandelle, 1831 census chandelier West Ward

T. French, tanner: (....-1831)
Joined Mar. 2, 1830; replaced Minshall on Committee Apr. 6, 1830;
donation of a bird specimen (woodpecker) Jan. 19, 1830
1819 list - tanner 76 St. Laurent St.
1825 census - tannerie St. Lawrence suburb West
Obituary Courant Mar. 26, 1831
v. Courant Feb. 22, 1833 - tannery of the late Thomas French destroyed by fire

Charles Gall
Committee July 13, 1830
1825 census St. Lawrence suburb East

Horatio Gates, merchant; major property owner and landlord in Montreal; instrumental in finding capital to found Bank of Montreal; Director 1819-1834 and President of Bank of Montreal briefly in 1826 and from 1832 to 1834; also founder in 1818 of Bank of Canada and its President 1826-1831; promoter of canals and railways; an American his loyalty was questioned when he was appointed to the Legislative Council in 1833; D.C.B. asserts that in the 1820s "he played a conciliating role between Papineau's party and the Montreal merchants"; (1777-1834)

2nd Vice-President 1828, 1st Vice-President 1831; Education Committee 1829

Joined NHS July 1827

President of British and Canadian School Society 1822-1834;
on executive of Montreal Infant School Society; 1829-1831 President of Montreal Auxiliary Bible Society

Backed Bagg in 1832 West Ward byelection and signed Loyal Address in Nov. 1832

1819 list Gates & Co. merchants 91 St. Paul St., res. 42 Notre Dame St.
1825 census - Hangar de dépôt de farine

D.C.B. vii, 277-279

cont'd Appendix 2

L. (Joseph) T. Gaudet

Donation of mineral specimen (shell marle from Carillon) Jan. 18, 1830

1825 census - St. Marie suburb

1831 census - commissariat

1842 McKay - commissariat clerk

Signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832

Alex Gray, auctioneer (c. 1801-1832)

Collector in Town; Education Committee 1829; appointed Librarian July 7, 1829

1831 census - encanteur

Obituary Gazette Aug. 14, 1832 - auctioneer and broker age 31

George Gray, furniture maker/upholsterer

donation Sept. 29, 1829 of ballot box

Black partisan

1831 census - ébéniste West Ward

1842 McKay - cabinetmaker Sanguinet St./Craig

cont'd Appendix 2

Charles Titus Grece, lawyer, licensed Nov. 11, 1823

Joined Sept. 8, 1829

1825 census - East Ward

1842 McKay - advocate St. Gabriel St./Craig

Signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832

v. D.C.B. vii, 357f. and honorary members - C.F. Grece

W. Griffin

Joined Apr. 21, 1829

1825 census St. Marie suburb

Hon. Louis Gagy, Sheriff of Montreal from Mar. 3, 1827; large landholdings in Trois-Rivières; member of House of Assembly 1809-1810 and 1816-1818 and associated with English party; appointed to Legislative Council Apr. 10, 1818; (1770-1840)

President 1828, 1830, 1831; Chaired meeting Mar. 31, 1829 and thanked members for election as President; Chaired Half Yearly General Meeting July 7, 1829; Education Committee 1829; Committee on Address to Sir James Kempt; book donation on experimental philosophy Jan. 26, 1831

Joined NHS July 1827; President Mar. 1831

Chaired St. Gabriel St. Church pewholders meeting Jan. 25, 1830 and signed in support of Esson

Accused of partiality in 1832 Election riot

1835 House of Assembly sought his removal

D.C.B. vii, 359f.

cont'd Appendix 2

Aaron Philip Hart, lawyer, licensed 1830; (c. 1809....)

Collector in Town; Education Committee 1829; Weekly Topics Committee; vote of thanks Jan. 13, 1829 for improved scuttle pipe; essay on prison discipline Jan. 20, 1829; Aug. 4, 1829 proposed essay on discovery and progress of architecture but resigned in heat when pressed for it

Joined NHS May 1831

1831 census - avocat Craig St.

1842 McKay - advocate 23 St. Gabriel St.

Former pupil of Montreal Academical Institution; noted for his panache and hot-headedness; although he and his father, Benjamin Hart, merchant, had upheld the government in 1837 he defended Patriote rights in 1839 trial

v. D.C.B. viii, 363-365

Moses J. Hayes (1799-1861)

Committee Dec. 16, 1828, July 7, 1829; donation of gunner's calipers Jan. 19, 1830

Joined NHS July 1827

Signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832

1819 list - Clerk Royal Engineers Office St. Louis St.

1825 census - West Ward

1831 census Dalhousie Square

While in Great Britain Peter McGill negotiated the loan which permitted Hayes to purchase the Montreal Waterworks in 1832; with Benjamin Hart he was instrumental in the drive to erect a synagogue in the 1830s

D.C.B. ix, 379f.

....Henderson, C. Eng. (partner Bennett & Henderson?)

Constitution Committee; Collector St. Anne suburb; Committee Dec. 16, 1828; Committee on Holwell model

T. Hodge (mason?)

Committee Jan. 12, 1830

1819 list - mason 14 St. Charles Borromée St.

J.A. Hoisington, bookseller-stationer

Joined May 18, 1830; Committee July 13, 1830

1831 census - stationer West Ward

Member of St. James St. Methodist Church and promoter of Young Men's Society; Montreal Infant School Society

George Holman

Collector St. Lawrence, St. Louis and Quebec suburb; Committee Dec. 16, 1828; Education Committee 1829; Library Committee; Secretary pro term from May 12, 1828 to April 1830 as replacement for P.H. Ogilvy; Feb. 22, 1831 model of bridge and donation April 12, 1831 of Jamaican lace bark

1825 census Côte Ste. Marie

1831 census - navigateur Quebec suburb

cont'd Appendix 2

A.F. Holmes, M.D., licensed May 15, 1816; diploma of Royal College of Physicians and Surgeons (Edin.) 1818, M.D. University of Edinburgh 1819; toured European hospitals with Dr. John Stephenson; former pupil of Dr. J.D. Arnaldi he was his partner from 1820 to June 1, 1827 (v. Gazette May 24, 1827); 1822 gave a course in chemistry in the evenings in Skakel's schoolroom and became co-founder with Stephenson of Montreal Medical Institution which in 1829 became Medical Faculty of McGill College; member of Montreal General Hospital Medical staff as well as Medical Examiner from 1823 to 1831; had botanical, mineralogical and geological collections; (1797-1860)

2nd Vice-President 1831; lecturer for NHS on chemistry in 1830 when members of Mechanics Institution were invited to attend at the same reduced rate given NHS members; Jan. 12, 1830 offered his mineral cabinet for lectures on building materials

1831 census St. Jacques St. (Gazette ad supra 4 St. Jacques St.)

1842 McKay - Greater St. James/McGill

Founding member of NHS; Corresponding Secretary 1827 to 1836 and President 1836 to 1841

On executive of New Montreal Library from its purchase in March 1828 until its sale to Mercantile Library Association in 1843

D.C.B. viii, 403-405

cont'd Appendix 2

Wm. Antrobus Holwell (Halowell), Ordnance Department

Collector in Town; Committee Dec. 16, 1828; Education Committee 1829; Weekly Topics committee; committees on Stevenson essay, Spence model, Hart essay; Corresponding Secretary 1830 but resigned July 13, 1830 and was married at Ile aux Noix in August 1830; Dec. 23, 1828 proposed improvement in the valves of the steam engine; May 26, 1829 proposed improvement in watch keys

Corresponding Member of NHS he apparently was transferred to Montreal from Chambly in July 1828 and became a regular member

1831 census - ordnance

cont'd Appendix 2

Wm. Hough, druggist

Weekly Topics Committee

1831 census - druggist West Ward

Supported Phillips candidature and switched to Bagg in 1832 byelection when it was decided to avoid splitting the vote of those who did not support the Popular party

Robert Howden, drawing teacher; Assistant Teacher in Montreal Academical Institution 1828-1829 then went with Rev. Edward Black and also taught privately until he opened a school with Duncan (1832) and later Taggart (1834);

Committee Dec. 16, 1828

1830 Armour - drawing teacher

1832 Duncan and Howden Academy, St. Vincent St.

Gazette May 24, 1834 ad for Howden and Taggart on Craig St. and advising of the move of Drawing Academy of Duncan & Howden; from Aug. 15, 1835 Duncan was to carry on Drawing Academy on his own account

1842 McKay - Howden and Taggart, Craig/Ste Elizabeth St.

Alfred Howson

Joined July 21, 1829

Frances Howson

Committee Dec. 16, 1828; Education Committee 1829; v. Wm. J. Leney; Committee on Stevenson essay

James Huddell

Joined August 4, 1828 and August 3, 1830! (did he only pay for a half year?); offered in July 1829 to let two rooms above the Post Office, a large room on the first floor and his services as librarian for 20 pounds a year and proposal was accepted; donation of mineral specimen from Farnham July 6, 1830

1825 census St. Lawrence suburb West

Vindicator Mar. 3, 1829 "Canal Hotel of Mr. Huddell, adjoining Mr. Warwick's foundry destroyed by fire - St. Anne suburb"

1831 census - pâtissier West Ward

1842 McKay - postman St. Antoine/Craig

cont'd Appendix 2

Samuel Hudson

Feb. 22, 1831 Committee on Holman model of bridge

William Humber

Joined Oct. 20, 1829

H.W. (=Henry) Jackson

Joined April 21, 1829

Vindicator July 20, 1830 ad stating that he had on hand at his shop 90 St. Paul St. 3000 pairs of boots and shoes (cf. June 26, 1832 - 6000 pairs)
1842 McKay - 2 Cornwall Terrace/St. Denis
cont'd Appendix 2

Henry Johnson

Joined Jan. 26, 1830

Committee 1831; donation of mineral specimen with William Smaille (black lead from Chatham L.C.) Jan. 19, 1830

Black partisan who was tried for riot in 1832

Vindicator August 3, 1830 fire in workshop of Johnson carpenter?

L.M. Jones, merchant

Committee July 7, 1829; v. Jonathan Alger

1831 census - marchand West Ward

Samuel Joseph

Committee July 7, 1829 (replaced by Shand Feb. 16, 1830); donation of an Indian carved figure July 13, 1830

1831 census - possibly to be identified with a tobacconist in Quebec suburb

Sir James Kempt, Governor-in-Chief from Sept. 1828 to October 1830, a period called the "era of good feelings"; (1765-1864)

Spring 1828 while Lt.-Gov. of Nova Scotia presided enquiry into Rideau canal construction; first action as Governor was to confirm Papineau as Speaker of House of Assembly

Accepted post as Patron Dec. 9, 1828

D.C.B. viii, 458-465

Paschal Lachapel. Côte des Neiges

Joined Jan. 19, 1830

Member of Notre-Dame Building Committee 1823-1829

1825 census Notre Dame des Neiges

Spectator Sept. 20, 1828, prize for exhibition of cattle

1829 Armour - member of executive of Montreal Agricultural Society

1831 census - bourgeois

1834 partner in firm Larocque, Bernard & Co.

Leon L. Lalanne, bookbinder

Joined Dec. 15, 1829

Spectator Dec. 17, 1828, Vindicator Dec. 19, 1828 (ad) bookbinder, former apprentice of E.C. Tuttle opens new book bindery

Joseph Lamontagne, inspector of beef and pork

Joined Nov. 17, 1829

1825 census St. Lawrence suburb West

1831 census - inspecteur de lard in West Ward

Venant Roy Lapensée, Lachine

Joined Dec. 15, 1828

1825 census Lachine

1829 Armour - member of executive of Montreal Agricultural Society

Royal Institution visitor at Lachine

F.-A. Larocque, business man; Founder and Director 1819-1826 as well as one of the principal French-Canadian shareholders of Bank of Montreal; partner of Joseph Masson 1830-1832; 1832 organized Larocque, Bernard & Co.; brother-in-law of Jules Quesnel; (1784-1869)

2nd Vice-President 1830

Joined NHS Sept. 1829

Member of Building Committee of Notre-Dame Church 1823-1829

Vice-President of British and Canadian School Society

Member of Fils de la liberté and imprisoned in 1838

1825 census - West Ward

1829 Armour - membre of Montreal Agricultural society

1831 census - marchand in West Ward

1842 census - merchant St. Lawrence ward

Harbour Commission member

D.C.B. ix, 445f.

Richard Leach (Leith), Cambridge University graduate, teacher in Montreal Parish School

Joined Feb. 9, 1830; six lectures on elocution

Obituary Gazette Aug. 25, 1832 - Mr. R. Leith teacher from Dungannon College, Ire., run over by a carriage

S. Leith

Joined April 21, 1829

Wm. J. Leney, engraver

Awarded life membership July 28, 1829; gift of copper plate for cards Aug. 4, 1829, also books per Francis Howson
died Nov. 1831

1825 census Longue Pointe

Donald Livingstone. Mount Johnson, D.P. surveyor, licenced Nov. 18, 1820

Joined Feb. 23, 1830

1830 Armour Ste. Marie de Monnoir

cont'd Appendix 2

C.D.S. Lovis (Louis), watchmaker

Committee July 13, 1830

1819 list - Lovis & sons watchmakers 29 Notre Dame St.

1825 census - Atelier d'horlogers West Ward

1831 census - horloger West Ward

1833 Captain of Phoenix Volunteer Fire Company

1842 McKay - jewellers and watchmakers 49 Notre Dame St.

cont'd Appendix 2

I. (John) C. Luckin

Joined Jan. 19, 1830

1825 census - Boutique et atelier de Confiseur West Ward

1831 census - aubergist West Ward

Gazette June 14, 1832 opened Merchant's Hall - newspapers at 27 Notre Dame St. - open 9 a.m. to 10 p.m.

1832 Captain of Phoenix Volunteer Fire Company

L. Ludlow

Committee July 7, 1829

?1842 census - widow Ludlow

Dr. Martin

Joined March 16, 1830

There seem to have been two Drs. Martin; one died before March 9, 1831, the date of his widow's remarriage to John Jeffries; the other moved to Argenteuil and Chatham Dec. 7, 1831 but resumed practice in Montreal in June 1832 at 4 Notre Dame St.; one of them was licensed Sept. 3, 1827

Edward Maxwell

Joined April 6, 1831

1834 member of Erskine Church - carpenter

1842 McKay - carpenters and joiners

cont'd Appendix 2

Robert Menzies

Joined Nov. 24, 1829

1819 list - 81 St. Dominique St.

John Minshall, teacher of British and Canadian School

Chaired meeting June 16, 1829; Committee July 7, 1829 but asked to be relieved and replaced by T. French April 6, 1830

Member of St. James Methodist Church

1842 census - teacher St. Mary's Ward

John Molson, Sr., brewer, steamship owner; President of Bank of Montreal 1826-1830; defeated in Montreal East in the 1827 election; 1831 in partnership with others formed Ottawa and Rideau Forwarding Co. as well as Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad; appointed to Legislative Council in 1832 (1763-1836)

3rd Vice-President 1828, 4th Vice-President 1830, 3rd Vice-President 1831; Education Committee 1829

1819 list - John Molson & Sons brewers and proprietors of steamboats - Malsham, Lady Sherbrooke and New Swiftsure

1825 St. Marie suburb

1825 moved to Belmont Hall (Sherbrooke at St. Laurent St.)

1829 widowed and retired from business

1831 census - Quebec suburb

He left St. Gabriel St. Church in 1823 (because of choice of Black?) and
in the 1830s promoted the establishment of Unitarian congregation

D.C.B. vii, 616-621

cont'd Appendix 2

Capt. P.H. Morin

Joined March 9, 1830

1831 census - navigateur West Ward

Henry Moss, painter, v. Spectator Jan. 26, 1828 ad

Committee Dec. 16, 1828, 1831

1825 census West Ward

1831 census - peintre West Ward

1842 McKay - ornamental painter St. Urbain/Dorchester

cont'd Appendix 2

Try Mc....., Chatham

Committee Dec. 16, 1828

Eas. McCarthy

Committee July 7, 1829

..... McDonald

Committee Dec. 16, 1828

Wm. McDonald

Joined July 6, 1830

1831 census has two Wm. McDonald; tailleur East Ward; forgeron
Quebec suburb

Peter McGill (McCutcheon), merchant; Director of Bank of Montreal and
Vice-President from 1830, then President 1834 to 1860; contested West
Ward versus L.-J. Papineau in 1827; appointed to Legislative Council in
1832; (1789-1860)

Committee 1831 (in Britain 1831-1832 to secure charter for Bank)

Joined NHS July 1827

McGill was considered neutral in the St. Gabriel St. Church dispute; he was, however, a personal friend of Black and went to St. Paul's Church; McGill and Redpath owned St. Paul's and refused to sign it over to the trustees until assured the Erskinite (i.e., Secessionist) views would not prevail

Gazette June 24, 1834 McGill wrote a letter defending Black against attempts to discredit him

1825 census West Ward

D.C.B. viii, 540

Robert McGinnis (son of Robert McGinnis, hatter (1749-1830)

Joined October 13, 1829; v. Appendix 2

1825 census East Ward atelier de chapelier

Wm. McKay

Committee Jan. 12, 1830

Possibly Wm. McKay, mason West Ward, found 1831 census and member of Erskine Church 1833

..... McLean

v. donation of W.J. Leney Aug.. 4, 1829: presented Companion to Glasgow Botanic Gardens

J. (John) McPhee

Joined Oct. 13, 1829

1825 census - East Ward

Dr. Robert Nelson, pupil of Dr. J.D. Arnoldi, licensed April 15, 1814; Nelson did voluntary work among the Indians from 1814 to 1826 but his petition to be appointed doctor to the Indians was denied; Vindicator Mar. 3, 1829 Drs. Nelson and Beaubien replaced Dr. Selby at Hotel Dieu; represented West Ward in House of Assembly 1827-1830 and 1834-1838; Dec. 1830 Drs. Nelson and Vallée announced medical lectures in French, but they were thwarted by the McGill faculty (was this an attempt to set up a rival school?) v. La Minerve Dec. 9, 1830; there was a long debate on the qualifications of Nelson in 1831 when he and others displaced the McGill doctors as Medical Examiners (Nelson was in England at the time of the debate); (1794-1873)

Joined June 15, 1830; July 13, 1830 proposed a course of lectures gratis

Joined NHS Oct. 1831

1819 list - 8 St. Gabriel St.

1824 member of Hibernian Benevolent Society

1825 census - East Ward

1831 census - St. Gabriel St.

Elected to City Council in 1833

Active speaker on behalf of Patriote party but didn't take part in 1837 Rebellion. Nevertheless, he was arrested and in 1837 went to the United States

D.C.B. x, 544-547

P.H. Ogilvy, Jr., Assistant Teacher in Montreal Academical Institution 1827-1829, then went as Assistant in Braithwaite's school at Chambly and was still there in 1835

Secretary 1828 resigned April 14, 1829; Constitution Committee

Corresponding Member Dec. 1829

Founding member NHS but dismissed and name erased July 1829 for non-payment of dues

Esson sent to Ogilvy at Chambly for a statement of facts to defend himself against morals charges at Christmas 1829

Michael O'Meara, coachmaker (Vindicator ad Dec. 12, 1828)

Joined Sept. 1, 1829

1825 census - Atelier de carrossier West Ward

1826 one of twelve who signed on behalf of the Irish for enlargement of Recollet Church

1831 census - carrossier West Ward

1842 McKay - coachmaker Radigonde St.

Signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832

Hon. L.-J. Papineau, lawyer, licensed May 19, 1810; represented West Ward in House of Assembly 1814-1838; Speaker of House of Assembly 1815-1823, 1824-1838 with salary of 1000 pounds per year; in 1823 with John Neilson took anti-Union petition to London; led Patriote party which from 1830 practiced systematic obstruction of business of legislature to support demands for control of provincial revenues, executive responsibility, and an elected Legislative Council; (1786-1871)

1st Vice-President British 1828, 3rd Vice-President 1830

Joined NHS Oct. 1829
Vice-President British and Canadian School Society
1819 list 5 Bonsecours St.
1825 census East Ward

D.C.B. x, 568-578
cont'd Appendix 2

George Parkin
Joined Dec. 8, 1829

Edward Perry, plasterer (Wetherall & Perry plasterers of Notre-Dame Church)
Committee Jan. 12, 1830
1819 list - plasterer 56 St. Charles Borromée St.
1825 census - St. Lawrence suburb West
1831 census - plâtrier West Ward
cont'd Appendix 2

James Poet, turner
Constitution Committee; Collector St. Lawrence, St. Louis, and Quebec suburbs; Committee Dec. 16, 1828, 1831; committee on Ayre's model
1825 census - Atelier de Tourneurs St. Lawrence suburb West
1831 census - tourneur West Ward
Member of Erskine Church 1834
1842 McKay - block and pump maker Vitre/St. Urbain
cont'd Appendix 2

James R. Pommainville
Joined Nov. 3, 1829; Committee Jan. 12, 1830; Recording Secretary July 13, 1830; book donation May 18, 1830

Joseph Pommainville, clockmaker
Joined Dec. 29, 1829
1819 list - clockmaker 71 St. Charles Borromée St.
1825 census - St. Lawrence suburb East
1831 census - horloger West Ward

L.B. Price

Joined Jan. 5, 1830

1842 McKay - bootmaker St. Charles Borromée/Craig

Wm. Purdy (Pardy), M.D., assistant staff surgeon medical dept.
(1787-1832)

Joined May 26, 1829

Joined NHS July 1827

Obituary Gazette July 3, 1832 surgeon of Rifle Brigade died of typhus

Rev. Isaac Purkiss, ordained 1809 and received London Missionary Society appointment to West Indies, Congregational Minister at Quebec 1821-1824; joined American Presbyterian Church Synod and served at Laprairie 1824 to mid 1830s; Schoolmaster of Laprairie Seminary 1824 to at least 1834; (1784-1852)

Revision Committee for Annual Report Jan. 14, 1830

Hon. Justice J.G. Pyke, licensed as lawyer 1796; acting judge 1818-1820; Puisne judge in Court of King's Bench from May 1820; (1775-1851)

Joined Aug. 4, 1829

1819 list - judge 20 St. Urbain St.

1825 census - West Ward

1831 census - St. Louis suburb

1842 St. Denis St.

Three sons of Judge Pyke, George, John and James attended the Montreal Academical Institution; George was licensed as a lawyer in 1840, John was licensed as a doctor in 1840, and James was ordained an Anglican priest in 1841

C. Thomas, 107, contributed to building fund for dissident Presbyterian Church at St. Andrews

D.C.B. viii, 726f.

Jules Quesnel, businessman; warden of Trinity House 1830-1839 and harbour commissioner 1830-1836; Montreal Board of Trade; brother-in-law of F.A. Larocque; (1786-1842)

Member of Notre-Dame Church building Committee 1823-1829

Signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832; joined Cuvillier, Gates et al. in 1830s to ask for constitutional status quo

Joined NHS Sept. 1829

1825 census - St. Lawrence suburb West

1831 census - merchant West Ward

1842 McKay - Mrs. J. Quesnel Craig/Cote

D.C.B. vii, 716-718

cont'd Appendix 2

Charles Radenhurst

Joined May 26, 1829

1842 McKay - Radenhurst, Turnbull & Co. wholesale drygoods and general merchants - residence St. François Xavier

(Hon.) James Reid, licensed as lawyer 1794; Puisne judge in Court of King's Bench 1807; Chief Justice for Montreal 1823; Executor of James McGill estate (1769-1848)

Joined July 6, 1830

Joined NHS Aug. 1827

Patron of Advocates' Library

1819 list - Panet St.

1825 census - St. Marie suburb - Jardin et Verger

1831 census - Quebec suburb

1842 McKay - St. Mary St.

Thomas, 107, granted civil registers in 1818 to Rev. Archibald Henderson, minister of dissident Presbyterian Church St. Andrews East

W. Roberts

Joined Oct. 20, 1829

1819 list - carpenter 14 St. Charles Borromée St.

1825 census - Ste. Anne suburb

Charles-S. Rodier, merchant who retired from drygoods trade in 1836 and was licensed as a lawyer in 1841; (1797-1876)

Joined June 9, 1829

1819 list - drygoods merchant 109 St. Paul St.

1825 census - East Ward

1831 census - marchand West Ward

1833-36 City Councillor

1842 McKay - advocate St. Antoine/Guy

D.C.B. x, 624-626

Ellis Rolland, tinsmith

Joined Oct. 6, 1829

1825 census - Ste. Marie suburb

1831 census - ferblantier Quebec suburb

Essex supporter

Wm. Rolland (related to above?)

Joined Oct. 6, 1829

Peter Rollo (=Rollet, i.e., Peter Rollet)

Joined Nov. 3, 1829; Committee Jan. 12, 1830

Signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832? (=Pierre Rollet)

(cf. James Rollo cabinet maker and upholsterer, elder of St. Gabriel St. Church - 1825 census furniture warehouse 87 Notre Dame, workshop 86 Notre Dame)

..... Ross

Committee Dec. 16, 1829

George Savage

Constitution Committee; Committee Dec. 16, 1828

Member of American Presbyterian Church he went to the Congregational Church and was Treasurer in 1834

1825 census - Boutique d'horlogers East Ward

1831 census - horloger West Ward

1842 McKay - watches and jewelry Notre Dame/St. Gabriel

Signed for new Mechanics' Institute Feb. 7, 1840

.... Savage

mistake? There are two Savage listings on the 1828 Committee which has one too many names

Alex Scott

Joined June 15, 1830

John Scott

Joined Dec. 15, 1829; April 13, 1830 paper on fireproof safe (There were several John Scott: one was House of Industry teacher on St. Lawrence

hill in 1828; another was a carpenter on St. Maurice St. and member of Erskine church from 1833

John Scott

Joined April 20, 1830

Joseph Shand. Chambly

Joined July 28, 1829

cont'd Appendix 2

William Shand, cabinet-maker, had been partner of Andrew White from 1810 to 1815 in building houses

Constitution Committee; Treasurer Dec. 16, 1828; Education Committee 1829; committees on Stevenson and Hart essays; Library Committee; Feb. 16, 1830 replaced Joseph on Committee; Dec. 23, 1828 suggested the use of the Canadian gin (i.e., crane) and truck cart in Great Britain
Esson's friend and nominee for eldership in early 1831; received a pew from Temporal Committee of St. Gabriel St. Church in 1830

1831 census - ingenieur St. Louis suburb

1842 census - Mrs. Shand widow St. Mary's ward

Samuel Shaw, cutler

Committee July 13, 1830

1825 census - Shaw Atelier de Coutelier

Wm. Smaille

Joined Jan. 26, 1830; donation of mineral specimens with Henry Johnson Jan. 19, and Mar., 23, 1830

John Smith

Joined May 19, 1829; Committee July 7, 1829

(There are five John Smith on 1825 census: John Smith, St. Paul St., was on the Provisional Committee of New Mechanics Institute 1840)

Wm. Smith

Committee July 7, 1829

James Snedden

donation of petrified snake Aug. 17, 1830

1825 census Ste. Marie suburb
Signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832
cont'd Appendix 2

Lucius L. Solomons

Joined July 14, 1828; donation of box of mineral specimens Sept. 15, 1828, analysis of Saratoga Water
died Mar. 5, 1830 age 26, La Minerve Mar. 11, 1830
(1819 list Levi and Benjamin Solomons - tobacconists and chocolate manufacturers)

(James) Somerville, farmer

Committee Dec. 16, 1828
1825 census - Lachine - Ruine d'un ancien Moulin banal
1829 Armour - Member of executive of Montreal Agricultural Society
Spectator Sept. 20, 1828 prize for exhibition of cattle

Wm. J. Spence

May 12, 1830 suggested improvement to printing press to supply type with ink
Vindicator Oct. 14, 1831 William J. Spence, printer, married Hannah Howe
v. John Fellows *supra*

Robt. A. Sproule, drawing teacher

Committee July 13, 1830
Vindicator Oct. 14, 1831 Robert Auchmury Sproule married to Jane Hopper by Rev. A. Atkinson
D.C.B. vii, 823

William Sproule

Committee 1831

Benjamin Starnes

Committee July 13, 1830
1825 census - St. Lawrence suburb East

Alex Stevenson, surveyor licensed Oct. 9, 1818

Collector in Town; Committee Dec. 16, 1828, July 13, 1830; Revision Committee for 1829 Annual Report; Dec. 16, 1828 proposed a course of lectures on mineralogy; Dec. 16, 1828 essay on cahots, continued April 7, 1829; Apr. 14, 1828 essay on nature and culture of Lucerne; Dec. 8, 15, and 22, 1829 papers on limestone; Feb. 2, 1830 plan for winter carriage; committees on Bennett and Spence models; May 18, 1830 was asked to arrange the mineral cabinet (vote of thanks July 20, 1830); donation of specimen of variegated marble Jan. 5, 1830.

1819 list - schoolmaster, land surveyor, etc. 23 St. Jacques St. (with Adolphus Frederick Stevenson, notorial student)

1825 census at Chambly

1831 census - arpenteur St. Nicholas Tolentine St. Quebec suburb

cont'd Appendix 2

W. Stevenson

Chaired meeting Apr. 28, 1828; committee on Stevenson essay

George Tate

Joined Nov. 24, 1829

1825 census - East Ward

1842 McKay - Royal Mail steamboats Commissioners St.

cont'd Appendix 2

Wm. Tate (did both join or was it a partnership membership?)

Joined Nov. 24, 1829

P. Telfer

Joined July 21, 1829

Joseph Terrien

Joined Dec. 29, 1829

1819 list - furrier and grocer 11 Ste. Marie St.

A. Thomson, engineer

Joined Sept. 8, 1828

1825 census - Alex Thompson St. Antoine suburb?

.... Thomson

Collector in St. Lawrence, St. Louis and Quebec suburb

.... Thomson

Collector in Town

.... Todd

Committee Dec. 16, 1828

Charles Archibald Trowbridge

Joined July 6, 1830

Charles Try (Fry)

Collector in Town; Committee Dec. 16, 1828

1819 list Foster and Try cabinetmakers, upholsterers and undertakers
154 St. Paul St.

1825 census - Boutique et atelier de meublier

1831 census - meublier Notre Dame St.

Signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832

Vindicator June 1, 1833 cabinetmaker

John Try (Fry)

Collector St. Antoine suburb

Founding member of NHS

1819 list - carpenter St. Urbain St.

1821 planned and built St. James St. Methodist Church

1831 census - bourgeois West Ward

1831 Chairman of Canadian Education and Home Missionary Society

Signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832

Thomas, 371, Edward Pridham, cabinet maker, arrived 1815 hired by John Fry (sic) principal master builder in Montreal at \$100 per year and board. Pridham remained with him as journeyman for five years before marrying and later moving to Grenville

(E.C.) Tuttle, stationer and bookbinder, v. Spectator Jan. 26, 1828 (ad)
and v. L.L. Lalanne *supra*

Committee July 7, 1829

1819 list bookbinder and stationer 54 St. Paul St.

1842 McKay - stationery 167 St. Paul St.

Hugh Vallance

Joined Mar. 2, 1830

W. Vallée, M.D., licensed August 5, 1824

Joined June 9, 1829

Founding member NHS

v. Robert Nelson *supra*, the two proposed medical lectures in French in 1830 and 1831; Vallée was elected to the Board of Medical Examiners in 1831

... Walker

Constitution Committee

Charles Wand

Committee Dec. 16, 1828, 1831; Education Committee 1829; committees on Bennett and Holwell models

1825 census St. Lawrence suburb West

1829 1st Lt. of St. Lawrence and Alliance Fire Club of Montreal

1831 census - bricklayer West Ward

May 1832 Special Constable

1839 Keeper of New Gaol

1842 McKay - tavern St Mary near the gaol

Guy Warwick

Collector Ste. Anne suburb

1819 list Guy Warwick & Co. iron founders, Phoenix Iron foundry Wellington St.

1831 census - founder West Ward

Apparently died late in 1833 - Louisa Warwick, wife, tutor to minor child Mary Ann; castings etc. to be sold by auction by P. Lukin

Joseph Warwick

Collector Ste. Anne suburb; Committee Dec. 16, 1828; Education Committee 1829; committee on Holwell model

1825 census - Phoenix Foundry ou Fonderie des Messrs. Warwick Ste. Anne suburb

1831 census founder West Ward

G. (George) Weatheritt, plasterer

Committee Jan. 12, 1830

1819 list 146 St. Lawrence St.
1825 census - St. Lawrence suburb West
1831 census - plasterer West Ward
1842 census - St. Lawrence Ward
cont'd Appendix 2

John White, tinsmith

Collector in Town

1819 list tinsmith 9 St. Paul St.

1825 census - Atelier et boutique de ferblantier

Vindicator Oct. 6, 1828 advertized for an apprentice and 2 journeymen for sheet iron and tin plate business. 151 St. Paul St. v. ibid July 20, 1830 ad states had been in business for last 13 years i.e., since 1817.

Unitarian sympathizer

Gazette Aug. 23, 1832 obituary for Elizabeth Lunn, wife of hardware merchant and tinsmith

cont'd Appendix 2

John Whitelaw, carpenter; (....-1867)

Committee July 13, 1830; donation of Drawing Board during Workman lectures, cf. Jos. Andrews

Black partisan who was refused pew by Temporal Committee of St. Gabriel St. Church in 1831

1819 list carpenter 26 Craig St.

1831 census - charpentier West Ward

1842 McKay - carpenters and joiners Chenneville/Vitre

In testimony to Commission of Enquiry on Lachine canal strike July 18, 1843 Whitelaw stated he had several times undertaken public works projects employing 500-800 men.

cont'd Appendix 2

Charles Wilkinson

Joined Jan. 26, 1830; donation of 1812 War souvenirs Apr. 19, 1831 with A. Douglas

G. Woodhouse (same as below?)

Committee Jan. 12, 1830

Joshua Woodhouse, clockmaker

Committee 1831

1831 census - horloger

1842 census - widow Woodhouse Queen's Ward

cont'd Appendix 2

Benjamin Workman, Schoolmaster, who established Union School in 1819; acquired Canadian Courant from Nahum Mower in 1829

- the paper failed in 1834 after a controversy over support for Unitarians; (1794-1878)

Dec. 29, 1829 with R. Armour Jr. invited members of Mechanics' Institute to Dr. A.F. Holmes' lectures sponsored by NHS; Committee 1831; offered to lecture on practical geometry gratis Jan. 26, 1831 and apparently delivered 12 lectures for which he received vote of thanks Apr. 19, 1831

Joined NHS July 1827

Workman withdrew from St. Gabriel St. Church in 1830 and a letter to the Vindicator Mar. 25, 1831 addresses Workman as follows: "I find it true that you are not now a member of the Scotch Church ... and I was not aware of your having quitted it, I do know that you were a member and took an active part during the whole of the time the matter ... was agitated";

1825 census - Union School Benjamin & Alex Workman West Ward

1831 census - imprimeur West Ward

1842 McKay schoolmaster Chenneville/Craig

Appendix 1a

Members Who Joined Between July 13, 1830 and July 5, 1831

-
Dr. J. Daniel Arnoldi, licensed Jan. 22, 1795; practised in Montreal 1802-1849; Medical Examiner 1812-1823, 1831-1834, 1839-1847; pupils included Robert Nelson and A.F. Holmes; Holmes and Arnoldi were partners 1820-1827; (1773-1849)

Joined Sep. 21, 1830

Joined NHS Oct. 1827

Popular party played on his resentment at being excluded from group of Medical Examiners in 1823 but in 1832 he backed Bagg and signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832. He was elected President of the new Board of Medical Examiners in 1831, and again in 1834 but resigned shortly after the second election. He was member of a group seeking a canal charter from Oka to Lachine in 1831. In 1833 he was appointed doctor of the Montreal jail.

1819 list - physician and surgeon 4 Place d'Armes

1825 census - West Ward one family member out of province, household may include A.F. Holmes

1831 census - medecin West Ward

1842 McKay - physician St. Charles Borromée/Craig

D.C.B. vii, 25-27

André-Henri Baron

Joined Oct. 5, 1830

? Widow André Barron at 1825 census in West Ward has young man 18-25 in household

William Bates, engineer

Joined Jan. 4, 1831 (during Workman lectures)

cont'd Appendix 2

Lewis Bates, engineer

Joined Dec. 28, 1830 (prior to Workman lectures)

? 1831 census - millwright in West Ward

cont'd Appendix 2

Joseph Buckingham

Joined Aug. 24, 1830

Samuel Cauthers, blacksmith

Joined Sept. 21, 1830

1825 census - West Ward

1831 census - forgeron West Ward

Courant Nov. 13, 1832 (ad) new blacksmith shop McGill St.

1842 McKay - blacksmith Recollet St.

Thomas Alexander Creighton, contractor

Joined Mar. 29, 1831 (at end of Workman lectures)

Vindicator May 19, 1832 accused contractors Wells and Crichton (sic) of perjury in inquiry into reprisals against employees who voted for Tracey
1819 list - clerk Storekeeper General's Office 9 Water St.

1825 census - St. Joseph suburb

Job Cushing

Joined Mar. 22, 1831 (during Workman lectures)

1819 list - tavernkeeper 2 McGill St.

1842 McKay - wholesale grocer 226 St. Paul St.

Andrew Doyle

Joined Feb. 1, 1831 (during Workman lectures)

1825 census - St. Joseph suburb

Vindicator Dec. 12, 1828 (ad) imported hardware for sale

1829 Armour - Society of Friends of Ireland

1842 McKay - commission merchant Ste. Helen/Lemoine

cont'd Appendix 2

John Eastwood

Joined Feb. 1, 1831 (during Workman lectures)

John Gardener, bootmaker

Joined Jan. 26, 1831 (during Workman lectures)

1819 list - boot and shoemaker 44 St. Paul St.

1831 census - cordonnier

Essex supporter

cont'd Appendix 2

Wm. Georgian

Joined Feb. 1, 1831 (during Workman lectures)

C. Thomas, History of the Counties of Argenteuil, Que., and Prescott, Ont., p. 641

- brothers Peter and William Georgian of "good social position" from Montreal located in North Plantagenet tp. and opened a store

1819 list - Mrs. Georgian boardinghouse keeper 8 St. Jacques St.

Wm. Glass, grocer

Joined Dec. 21, 1830 (prior to Workman lectures)

1825 census - Boutique d'épicer East Ward of Town

Black partisan

Wm. Hamilton, baker

Joined Apr. 5, 1831

J. Hilton, furniture maker, partner of James Baird (supra) from 1822-1833; (1791-1866)

Joined Feb. 1, 1831 (during Workman lectures)

1825 census - St. Lawrence suburb West

1831 census - meublier West Ward

1842 McKay - J. Hilton and E. Baird cabinet and upholstery Place d'Armes

Member of St. James St. Methodist Church and on committee of Eclectic Library

D.C.B. ix, 390f.

James Huddle

Joined Aug. 3, 1830 and Feb. 1, 1831 (latter date is during Workman lectures)

v. Appendices 1 and 2

Archibald Hume, chandler

Joined May 3, 1831

Black partisan tried for riot 1832

Special constable May 1832 and signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832

1825 census - manufacture de savon et chandelles Ste. Marie suburb

1831 census - savonier Quebec suburb

1842 McKay - tallow chandler St. Tolentine St.

David Hutchison

Joined Aug. 17, 1830

Joseph Lancaster, teacher; (1778-1838)

Joined May 3, 1831

Visited Quebec and Montreal in 1828; returned to lecture and open school in Montreal in 1829; received grants from House of Assembly - 100 pounds 1829, 200 pounds 1830, 200 pounds 1831, and 100 pounds plus 5 pounds per student teacher to maximum of 10.

In 1832 he voted for Bagg and his grant was not renewed; the Board of Health seized a shed which he set up for Irish immigrants for use as a cholera hospital

D.C. vii, 481-483

1831 census - précepteur West Ward

Wm. Lawley, carver and gilder

Joined Oct. 26, 1830

1825 census - Boutique et atelier de doreur East Ward

1831 census - doreur West Ward

Courant Jan. 12, 1833 (ad) Looking Glass, Picture Frame Manufactory
cont'd Appendix 2

John Mack, victualler

Joined May 3, 1831

Courant Feb. 29, 1832 King's Arms Inn

1842 census - aubergiste St. Charles St.

cont'd Appendix 2

Thomas Madigan, baker

Joined Sept. 14, 1830

1825 census West Ward of Town

1826 one of twelve who signed on behalf of the Irish for enlargement of Recollet Church

1831 census - boulanger Quebec suburb

1831 Secretary of Society of Friends of Ireland

James Matthew

Joined Jun 7, 1831

John Nolan, gardener

Joined Aug. 31, 1830

1825 census - St. Lawrence suburb West

1831 census - jardinier West Ward

Thomas Nolan, grocer

Joined Aug. 3, 1830

1825 census - St. Lawrence suburb West

1831 census - épicier West Ward

Vindicator Feb. 18, 1834 his widow, Charlotte Houston, married John Macauley

Maurice O'Grady, Lachine

Joined Sept. 21, 1830

Appleton Rice

Joined Aug. 3, 1830

1842 McKay - wireworker

J. Scanlan, teacher

Joined Aug. 31, 1830

La Minerve June 17, 1828 announced new term at Ecole de Montréal

1831 census - schoolmaster Fortifications St.

1842 McKay - English and Commercial Academy 8 St. Vincent St.

cont'd Appendix 2

James Spears

Joined Aug. 3, 1830

Courant Nov. 3, 1832 (ad) Blacksmith and Farrier St. Lawrence suburbs

1842 McKay - blacksmith St. Lawrence/Vitre

Black partisan

William Spier(s), joiner; Lauder & Spiers builders of New Gaol in early 1830s

Joined May 3, 1831

1832 Phillips supporter who adhered to Bagg and signed Loyal Address in Nov. 1832; Vindicator May 1, 1832 dismissed Owen Murray, John Tracey, Samuel Finneron, James Mullaly, and Edward Meaher for voting for Tracey

1825 census - Ste. Anne suburb
1842 McKay - carpenters and joiners
cont'd Appendix 2

Danier Tracey, M.D., arrived in Montreal in 1825; after Jocelyn Waller's death in Dec. 1828 the Canadian Spectator ceased publication; from Dec. 12, 1828 edited Irish Vindicator which was anti-British; charged with libel by Legislative Council he and Duvernay were imprisoned Jan. 17-Feb. 25, 1832 but returned in triumph to Montreal; he ran in 1832 West Ward byelection which he won; (1795-1832)

Feb. 22, 1831 rejected by one vote; Apr. 12, 1831 new ballot and accepted; Apr. 19, ballot declared null and void but this act was held unconstitutional by a vote of 14 to 2; Tracey was renominated, the vote postponed, and finally rejected 17 to 5.

1829 Armour - President of Society of Friends of Ireland and Vice-President of Hibernian Benevolent Society

D.C.B., vi, 783f.

Wm. White

Joined Sept. 14, 1830
Black partisan?

James Williams

Voted member Aug. 31, 1830 but declined
1819 list - Postmaster
1825 census -Bureau de Poste West Ward - one young man 18-25 in household (=son below?)

John James Williams Jr.

Joined Aug. 31, 1830; donation of old books and coins Aug. 31, 1830

John Wilson

Joined Feb. 1, 1831 (during Workman lectures)
1825 census - West Ward
1829 Armour lists a John Wilson as drawing teacher

Other names mentioned during this period

Jonathan Alger, blacksmith

Sept. 29, 1829 donation of mineral specimens (per L.M. Jones)

1825 census - Grand atelier de forgerons; 5 soufflets, Boutique de clincaillerie West Ward

Allan Cote a Baron

April 26, 1831 donation of botany specimen (unusual potato)

L.A. Christy (= Dr. A.J. Christie, Bytown), licensed 1817; had been in Montreal 1817-1821 and edited Montreal Herald 1819-1821, as well as 1824-1825 when he edited Montreal Gazette and Canadian Magazine; promoter of MGH; brother-in-law of T.A. Turner

Mar. 17, 1829 donation of Linnaeus' System of Nature; elected corresponding member Mar. 31, 1829; July 5, 1831 donation of mineral specimens from Rideau canal

D.C.B. vii, 182-184

David Hollinger

July 6, 1830 donation of specimens of minerals from Niagara Falls

T. Joseph Rawdon

Mar. 23, 1830 donation of specimen of mineral (per Boston)

Charles Lamontagne

July 13, 1830 donation of specimen of talc

Wm. J. Leney, engraver and lithographer; died Nov. 26, 1831

Made life member for donations of copper plate for cards of the Institute, Manuel du Musiam Français (per Howson), Lives and Works of the Most Celebrated Painters, and Companion to the Glasgow Botanic Gardens (per McLean) Aug. 4, 1829

listed *supra*

Wm. McBarton

Aug. 31, 1830 donation of Roman coin

Wm. Nivens, engineer

Apr. 26, 1831 gift of encrustation from Eastern Townships

Thomas O'Neil, Boucher Pointe, Bonnechere tp., Horton, U.C.

Oct. 20, 1829 donation of natural history specimens; elected corresponding member Oct. 27, 1829; other specimens were received Aug. 31, 1831

Thomas A. Starke, printer; Gazette May 24, 1834 J. & T.A. Starke bookstore 108 Notre Dame St.

Book donations Aug. 17, 1830: Scott's Mechanics Magazine, Planter's Life in Jamaica, Griffin's on the Blow Pipe, Wade's Ancient & Modern Glasgow, Religious Observer, Paley's Natural Theology

W.F. Wentzel

Mar. 30, 1830 donation of specimen of claystone from Nipigon

Appendix no. 2

Known members of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute after
Nov. 20, 1831

James Allison, land agent

Chaired Dec. 6, 1831 (after five month hiatus); Constitution Committee 1832; Chaired 3rd Anniversary Meeting, Jan. 24, 1832;

Recording Secretary 1835; committee to seek rooms 1835; Negotiated with New Mechanics' Institute 1840

v. Appendix 1

Godfrey Andrews

Joined Jan. 21, 1834

? 1842 McKay - joiner Dorchester St.

John Andrews, plasterer

Joined Dec. 13, 1831

? v. 1825 census John Andrews (over 60) one unmarried male 18-25 =son?

? 1842 McKay - bricklayer Dorchester St.

Joseph Andrews, painter; partner of William Boston

Committee 1834

v. Appendix 1

William Andrews, joiner (related to John Andrews above?)

Joined Dec. 13, 1831; Prepared schoolroom with J.R. Brunson Dec. 1833

Teaville Appleton, builder, partner of Joseph Clark until Feb. 1834 then continued as builder (v. Gazette May 27, 1834)

Committee 1834, 1835; committee on Bernard model

v. Appendix 1

John Ashton, hatter (v. Gazette May 27, 1834 Place d'Armes /St. Paul St. - hats, music etc.)

Joined Mar. 24, 1835

1842 McKay - hatter, furrier Place d'Armes

William Ayers, painter; died June 20, 1832 and business continued by his son Adin W. Ayers (v. Gazette May 24, 1834 Adin W. Ayres - House, Sign and Decorative Painter, Glazier, etc.)

Committee 1832

v. Appendix 1

Charles Baird

Committee 1833

James Baird, chairmaker; partner of John Hilton 1823-1833
(Joined Nov. 24, 1829); Committee 1832, 1833

v. Appendix 1

John Baird, civil engineer

Joined Mar. 19, 1833

Samuel Baker, hotelkeeper of Commercial Hotel, St. Paul St.?

Joined Jan. 7, 1834

William Bates, engineer

(Joined Jan. 4, 1831

v. Appendix 1a

George Bent, apprentice pharmacist

Committee 1832

v. Appendix 1

George Bernard

Mar. 4, 1834 model of two wheel carriage

1819 list - livery stable keeper between 23-24 St. François Xavier St.

? 1831 census - huissier

Lewis Betts, engineer

(Joined Dec. 28, 1830); Constitution Committee 1832; Committee 1832, 1833

v. Appendix 1a

William Betts (= William Bates? *supra*) v. Sept. 21, 1832 present for presentation of award

Thomas Bigges, blacksmith
Joined Jan. 31, 1832
1831 census - forgeron West Ward

J.W. Boggs, linen draper
Joined Jan. 30, 1833

William Boston, painter, partner of Joseph Andrews
Constitution Committee 1832; Treasurer 1832, 1833, 1834; chaired Jan. 10, 18, 31, 1832; present for presentation of award Sept. 21, 1832; committee on Cooper remarks
Apparently died late in 1834 and replaced by John White as Treasurer
v. Appendix 1

Andrew Bowie, tinsmith
Joined Jan. 21, 1834
1831 census - ferblatnier St. Lambert St.

John Bowie, bricklayer
Joined June 4, 1833

Lt. William Bradford
(Joined May 26, 1829); Committee 1832
v. Appendix 1

Thomas H. Bromley, bookkeeper
Joined Dec. 31, 1833; Committee 1834

Isaac Brown, auctioneer, son of James Brown, St. Andrews, former owner of Montreal Gazette and St. Andrews papermill - lease of latter expired in 1833
Joined Mar. 11, 1834

John Ogilvy Brown, auctioneer, son of James Brown - v. above
Joined Mar. 25, 1834

Gazette May 24, 1834 General Sales Room 85 Notre Dame St.,
Auctioneer and Commission Merchant
1842 clerk Queen's Ward

John Brownlie, builder-carpenter
Joined Mar. 4, 1834
1831 census - charpentier West Ward
Black partisan in 1831
Vindicator Mar. 11, 1834 accepted journeymen's claims during strike

Joseph Brunsdon, builder
Committee 1833, 1835; Prepared schoolroom Dec. 1833 with Wm.
Andrews
1834 President of Montreal Fire Society
Incorporator of Mechanics' Institute 1845
v. Appendix 1

Dr. Peter Buchanan
Joined Jan. 14, 1834

William Burney, millwright
Joined Mar. 26, 1833
? 1819 list - William Burnet tavernkeeper 2 Foundling St.
? 1825 census - William Burnet West Ward with T. English

William Burney Jr. millwright
Joined Mar. 26, 1833

John Cain, cabinetmaker
Committee 1832, 1833
v. Appendix 1

William Calvert, engineer
Joined Mar. 18, 1834

Horatio Carter, chemist (i.e., druggist)
Joined Dec. 3, 1833; Committee 1834; Lectured on Chymical Chemistry
Jan. 28 and Feb. 4, 1834 and received vote of thanks Feb. 11, 1834, v.
letter to editor of Courant Feb. 12, 1834; Gift of books - 13 Verulum, 6

Guide to Knowledge, Penny Magazine Jan. 21, 1834; Returned to England to bring out books, apparatus, etc. (44L.-2-4 on credit to Mechancis' Institute at Gillespie, Moffat in London)

Acheson Clark, engineer

Committee 1833, 1834, 1835

v. Appendix 1

Joseph Clark, surveyor-architect, partner of Teavill Appleton from 1818 to Feb. 1834 in building trade then architectural surveyor, measurer and valuer of works (cf. Gazette May 24, 1834 John Wells gave notice he has selling building materials and would act as an architect only from that date)

Chaired Mar. 16, 1832 (no quorum); Constitution Committee 1832;

4th Vice-President 1832; 3rd Vice-President 1833, 1834; Committee 1835; Chaired 4th Anniversay Meeting Jan. 15, 1833; committee on Cooper remarks

v. Appendix 1

Robert Cleghorn, gardener

Constitution Committee 1832; Committee 1832, 1833, 1834; Gift of 1833 weather diary Feb. 11, 1834

v. Appendix 1

John Cliff, joiner

Committee 1832, 1833; Recording Secretary 1834 in place of G. Holman; Drawing Master in school 1833-1834; committee on Bernard model; Committee 1835; committee to find rooms 1835

v. Appendix 1

James Cooper, joiner

Present for presentation of award Sept. 21, 1832; Committee 1833, 1834, 1835; Remarks on effects of frost on buildings and means of preventing it Feb. 5, 1833; committee on Bernard model; Negotiated with New Mechanis' Institute 1840

v. Appendix 1

Henry Corse, paint manufacturer

4th Vice-President 1833

Founding member NHS

1819 list - Roswell & Henry Corse oil and colour men 71 St. Paul St. & Grey Nuns St.

Director MGH 1821

Vice-President Hibernian Benevolent Society 1824

1825 census - maison en style gothique, jardin, fabrique de mastic Ste. Anne suburb

1831 census - commercants West Ward

1842 McKay - paint, oil and glass

Alex Courtney, baker

Joined Mar. 4, 1834

1842 McKay - Exchange Hotel Bonsecours/Notre Dame

John Crooks, miller

Joined Jan. 30, 1833

1825 census - moulin à vent pour grain Ste. Anne suburb

1842 McKay - miller, sawmill and gristmill Common near Canal Basin

William Dow, brewer; from 1829 to 1834 partner in Thomas Dunn's brewery, which became W. Dow & co. (brother Andrew was partner until his death in 1853); (1800-1868)

Committee 1832, 1833, 1834

Black partisan

Signed Loyal Address in Nov. 1832

1825 census - St. Joseph suburb

1831 census - brasseur West Ward

1842 McKay - brewer and distiller St. Joseph Chabouillez Square

D.C.B. ix, 233f.

Andrew Doyle, hardward importer

(Joined Feb. 1, 1831); Committee 1832

v. Appendix 1a

James Dudderidge, bookkeeper

Joined Jan. 21, 1834

William Dunlop, plasterer

Joined Jan. 22, 1833

1842 McKay - J. & W. Dunlop plasterers Dorchester/St. Siméon

Rev. Henry Esson, Church of Scotland clergyman

Committee 1833; chaired meeting Nov. 26, 1833; 2nd Vice-President 1834; 1st Vice-President 1835; Chaired 5th Anniversary Meeting Jan. 14, 1834

v. Appendix 1

John Flemming, painter

Committee 1833, 1835; Whitewashed rooms Dec. 1833

v. Appendix 1

W.E Fletcher, writer (i.e., Secretary)

Joined Mar. 24, 1835

I.-B. Franchère, clockmaker

Committee 1832, 1833

v. Appendix 1

John Gardener, bootmaker

Committee 1832, 1834, 1835

v. Appendix 1a

George Garth, plumber

Joined Jan. 22, 1833?; Committee 1834, 1835; committee on Bernard model

1842 McKay - plumber and brazier Craig/Ste. Elizabeth

Horatio Gates, merchant

1st Vice-President 1832, 1834; died Apr. 11, 1834

v. Appendix 1

Hiram Gilbert

Committee 1833

1819 list - H. & M. Gilbert grocers and tavernkeepers 11 St. Louis St.;
H. Gilbert inspector of pork and beef 11 St. Louis St.

1825 census - Côte Ste. Marie with Geo. Holman

? signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832 - Moses H. Gilbert

Unitarian sympathizer

H.B. Timothy, The Galts: A Canadian Odyssey, vol. 2, 41 relates an incident from 1826 in which Hiram Gilbert, a butcher, kept a number of oxen to tow sailboats upriver to Montreal

George Gray, upholsterer

Committee 1832, 1835; Jan. 24, 1832 responded to query of E. Maxwell of previous week

v. Appendix 1

Thomas Greig, builder

Joined Apr. 7, 1835

Hon. Louis Guly, sheriff of Montreal

President 1832, 1833, 1834, 1835; Presided at presentation of award Sept. 21, 1832

As noted above he was accused of partiality in 1832 election riot

v. Appendix 1

Joseph Guibault, botanist

Rejected by ballot Apr. 7, 1835

1825 census - East Ward

La Minerve July 7, 1831 "recently opened establishment"

Gazette May 24, 1834 Guibault's Botanic Garden

1842 McKay - botanic garden Coteau St. Louis in rear of Bishop's Church

William Hollowell (= William A. Holwell *infra*)

John Handley, joiner

Joined Dec. 13, 1831

Edward Hartley

Committee 1832

Signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832

John Henderson

Committee 1832

? Committee of British and Canadian School Society

1829 Treasurer of Phoenix Volunteer Fire Society

? 1842 McKay - carpenter St. Mary/Gain St.

Francis Higgett

Committee 1833

Wm. Kemper Hodges, draper

Joined Jan. 21, 1834

George Holman

Declined post of Recording Secretary 1834

v. Appendix 1

Dr. A.E. Holmes

2nd Vice-President 1832; 4th Vice-President 1835

v. Appendix 1

William A. (Antrobus) Holwell

Constitution Committee 1832; Committee 1832, 1833; Corresponding Secretary 1834; 3rd Vice-President 1835; committee on Cooper remarks; essay on human happiness Mar. 24, 1835

v. Appendix 1

James Huddell

Recording Secretary 1832; active 1835

v. Appendix 1 and 1a

(cf. 1832 ad Elizabeth Huddell teacher)

Samuel Hudson

Present at presentation of award Sept. 21, 1832

John Hughes, surveyor

Joined Feb. 5, 1833

? 1825 census - St. Joseph suburb

James Hutchison, baker

Joined Feb. 11, 1834

Former pupil of Montreal Academical Institution?

Henry Jackson, shoestore 90 St. Paul St.

(Joined Apr. 21, 1829); Committee 1835
v. Appendix 1

Elijah B. Johnson, engineer
Joined Jan. 21, 1834

George Johnson, cordwainer
Joined Jan. 28, 1834

Obadiah Johnson, Montreal Engineers
Joined Dec. 10, 1833 with George Murray

John Keller, hardwardman
Joined Jan. 28, 1834
1842 McKay - wholesale and retail hardware 105 St. Paul St.

William Kennedy, joiner
Joined Mar. 4, 1834; Committee 1835
1825 census - Atelier de charpentiers West Ward
1831 census - charpentier
1842 McKay - carpenters and joiners Beaudry/Jure

William Kerr, smith
Joined Mar. 26, 1833; Committee 1835
Black partisan
1825 census - West Ward
1831 census - forgeron West Ward
1842 McKay - founder Prince/Wellington

Robert Parsons Kerrison, victualler
Joined Dec. 17, 1833

William Lauder, builder; firm Lauder, Spiers & Co. built New Gaol 1831
Committee 1832, 1833

William Lawley, carver-gilder
(Joined Oct. 26, 1830); Committee 1833, 1835
v. Appendix 1a

Henry Lawrence, chemist (i.e., druggist)
Joined Mar. 10, 1835

William Leys, grocer
Committee 1832; died Sept. 1834
Black partian who was refused pew in 1831 and tried for riot i;n 1832
1825 census - East Ward
Gazette Sept. 6, 1834 obituary Ste. Anne suburb

Donald Livingstone
(Joined Feb. 23, 1830); Chaired Dec. 20, 1831; Committee 1832, 1833;
query Jan. 10, 1832
v. **Appendix 1**

C.D.S. Lovis (Louis), clockmaker
Committee 1832
v. **Appendix 1**

Archibald Lyons, postman
Not balloted Jan. 21, 1834?
Esson supporter in 1831

John Mack, victualler
(Joined May 3, 1831); Committee 1835
v. **Appendix 1a**

James R. Matthews, shoemaker
Joined Jan. 30, 1833
1819 list - leather seller 1 St. François Xavier

Alex Maxton, brewer
Joined Apr. 7, 1835

Edward Maxwell
(Joined Apr. 6, 1830); Committee 1832
? carpenter, member of Erskine Chuch 1834
v. **Appendix 1**

John Lawrence Milton, arrived in Montreal late in 1830 and began a series of lectures while advertizing for a position; was appointed teacher of British and Canadian School, Terrebonne, March 1831; appointed Church of England catechist at Terrebonne Feb. 25, 1832, ordained Mar. 23, 1833 and sent to assist at Shefford, then to Rawdon 1833-1834; returned to England in 1835 and was subsequently a Baptist clergyman at a chapel in Paris

Joined as Corresponding Member Dec. 6, 1831; Committee 1832(!)

Thomas Mitchell, teacher

Dec. 17, 1833 offered course of lectures; Lectured on Political Economy in 1834 (from 5 to possibly 8 lectures, beginning Jan. 14, 1834 and finishing Mar. 11, 1834); Joined Mar. 17, 1835;

Committee 1835

1842 McKay - advocate Little St. James/Place d'Armes

John Molson Sr.

3rd Vice-President 1832

v. Appendix 1

Henry Moss, painter

Committee 1835

v. Appendix 1

David Murphy

Joined Jan. 21, 1834

George Murray, Montreal Engineers

Joined Dec. 10, 1833 with Obadiah Johnson

? 1825 census - St. Lawrence suburb East

John Murray, innkeeper

Joined Jan. 21, 1834

William Murray, bookkeeper

Committee 1835

1842 McKay - 177 Notre Dame

(James MacFarlane, tinsmith

Not balloted Feb. 11, 1834)

Hugh McCallum, cabinetmaker

Joined Mar. 17, 1835

There was a Hugh McCallum, carpenter, a member of Erskine Church 1833

John McCallum, cabinetmaker (1806-1876)

Joined Feb. 25, 1834

R. Campbell, A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, 558f., he arrived in Canada in 1832 and was a pianoforte maker

Willard McCoy

Committee 1832

John McIntosh, joiner

Joined Jan. 21, 1834

1842 McKay - carpenter Lagauchetière/St. Denis (Middlemiss & McIntosh carpenters and joiners)

Thomas McKim, blacksmith

Joined Dec. 13, 1831; died July 1832

Gazette July 12, 1832 obituary - 10 years in Montreal

John Ostel, surveyor, designer of Custom House 1833; (1813-1891)

Joined Jan. 21, 1834; Committee 1835

(cf. Gazette July 2, 1834 notice of reopening of Miss Ostell's (Pestalozzian) school 155 Notre Dame St.)

Incorporator of Mechanics' Institute in 1845

1842 McKay - city surveyor City Hall

John Panton, grocer

Joined Mar. 25, 1834; Committee 1835

Hon. Louis-Joseph Papineau, speaker of House of Assembly, lawyer

Dec. 24, 1833 query re: cheaper and cleaner method of heating public buildings; same date Allison and Woodhouse appointed to collect Papineau dues promised for end of legislative session

v. Appendix 1

Edward Perry, plasterer; partner in Wetherall & Perry
Committee 1832, 1834
v. Appendix 1

Henry Perry, architect
Joined Feb. 11, 1834

George Phillips, brewer (note Thomas Phillips below owned brewery)
Joined Mar. 17, 1835; Committee 1835
Former pupil of Montreal Academical Institution

Thomas Phillips, plasterer-architect
Committee 1833
1812 plasterer of Christ Church
v. Montreal Gazette Oct. 24, 1817 formerly contractor with Chevalier and
Phillips offered services as architect, surveyor and estimator
1820 provided plans for MGH
Lachine canal Commissioner and contractor
1825 census - Brasserie de Thomas Phillips St. Lawrence suburb West
Contractor on Rideau canal
1831 census - Maître entrepreneur West Ward
1832 byelection withdrew his candidacy in favor of Stanley Bagg, former
fellow contractor on Lachine canal
Signed Loyal Address in Nov. 1832

John Pocklington
Joined Jan. 7, 1834

James Poet, turner
Present at presentation Sept. 21, 1832; Committee 1833, 1834, 1835;
committee to seek rooms 1835; Negotiated with New Mechanics'
Institute 1840
v. Appendix 1

James Potts, mason (1804-1832)
Joined Dec. 13, 1831; Committee 1832; died June 20, 1832 (Vindicator)
June 25, 1832
Esson supporter in 1831

1825 census - absent West Ward

George Pringle, joiner

Joined Jan. 22, 1833

Member of Erskine Church in 1834

Gazette Aug. 7, 1834 Mrs. Pringle moved school to Chenneville St. -

(Revs.) H. Esson and W. Taylor attested to quality of school (inspected July 23, 1834)

George Prowse, tinsmith

Joined Feb. 11, 1834

1842 McKay - tinsmith St. Mary/Campeau

John Putnam, tanner

Joined Jan. 28, 1834

Jules Quesnel

2nd Vice-President 1833

v. Appendix 1

Thomas Radcliff, clerk of works, R.E.

Joined Jan. 30, 1833

John Raddiger, law student

Joined Feb. 18, 1834; Corresponding Secretary 1835

There was an N.C. Radiger licensed as a lawyer Dec. 2, 1828
(= relative?)

Samuel Rattray, tobacconist

Joined Feb. 18, 1834; book donation Feb. 11, 1834 Scientific Irrigation
by J. Rattray

1842 McKay - lists a James Rattray tobacconist 98 Notre Dame

John Redpath, contractor; important supplier of stone from the early 1820s
he was also master mason for Notre Dame Church as well as a
contractor on the Lachine and Rideau canals with Thomas McKay,
Thomas Phillips and Andrew White; (1796-1869)

1st Vice-President 1833, 4th Vice-President 1834; Gift of 60 nos.
Repertory of Inventions Jan. 14, 1834

1825 census - Grand atelier pour la taille des pierres de bâtisse St. Lawrence suburb East

1831 census - entrepreneur

1832 a Phillips supporter who adhered to Bagg and signed the Loyal Address in Nov. 1832

Black supporter he was trustee, then elder of St. Paul's Church from 1835 but joined the Free Church movement in mid 1840s Gazette July 26, 1834 obituary of wife, Janet McPhee

D.C.B. ix, 654f.

John Ross, plumber

Joined Mar. 4, 1834; Committee 1835

Black partisan

1842 McKay list of plumbers

Stephen Scanlan, teacher

(Joined Aug. 31, 1830); Committee 1832

1842 McKay - English and Commercial Academy 8 St. Vincent St.

v. Appendix 1

Charles Sewell, medical student, son of Stephen Sewell (founding member of NHS and Advocates' Library, died 1832) he went to Edinburgh University 1833?-1835? and was licensed as a doctor in 1835

Joined Feb. 26, 1833

Former pupil of Montreal Academical Institution

1842 McKay - 22 St. Gabriel St.

John Sexton, advocate, licensed Feb. 5, 1832

Joined Mar. 17, 1835

Signed Loyal Address in Nov. 1832

Married only daughter of James Carswell Feb. 15, 1834

1842 McKay - city clerk Lagauchetière/St. Denis

Joseph Shand

Constitution Committee 1832; present at presentation Sept. 21, 1832

v. Appendix 1

Noah Shaw, contractor

Committee 1833

1825 census - Ste. Anne suburb
Signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832
1842 McKay - carpenters and joiners

Arthur Smith, engineer
Joined Mar. 12, 1833
? 1835 census - St. Joseph suburb

John Smith, plumber
Joined Mar. 19, 1833

Dr. Wm. Primrose Smith, arrived in Montreal in 1832; (.....-1877)
Joined Mar. 4, 1834; Gift of 116 nos. Dictionary of Mechanical Science
Feb. 25, 1834
1842 McKay - physician St Lawrence/Craig

James Snedden (=Shedden?)
Committee 1832
1825 census - Ste. Marie suburb
Vindicator May 3, 1829 Snedden's grocery store, Quebec suburb
1831 census - épicier Quebec suburb
Signed Loyal Address Nov. 1832
v. **Appendix 1**

Samuel Snedden (=Shedden?), bookkeeper
Joined Mar. 11, 1834

William Spiers joiner-builder; partner Lauder, Spiers & co; accused by
Vindicator May 1, 1832 of dismissing Owen Murray, John Tracey, Samuel
Finneron, James Mullaly, and Edward Meaher for voting for Dr. Daniel
Tracey in the 1832 Montreal West election
(Joined May 3, 1831); Committee 1833
v. **Appendix 1a**

Alexander Stevenson, surveyor
Committee 1832, 1833; present at award presentation ceremony Sept.
21, 1832; active 1834; Committee 1835; Gifts - specimens Jan. 24, 1832;
skeleton of frog Jan. 15, 1833; 2 Indian spearheads, etc. Feb. 10, 1835;
Negotiated with New Mechanics' Institute 1840

Vindicator June 25, 1832 wife Margaret Cowie died of cholera
v. Appendix 1

John Sutherland, blacksmith

Joined Mar. 4, 1834

1825 census - St. Lawrence suburb East

1842 McKay - J. Sutherland & W. Burnet Co. blacksmiths
Chenneville/Vitre

George Tate

Committee 1833, 1834, 1835

v. Appendix 1

Rev. William Taylor, United Presbyterian clergyman; arrived in Montreal
June 1833 and reorganized congregation founded previous year; Erskine
Church erected 1835

Joined Feb. 25, 1834; 2nd Vice-President 1835; Committee composed of
Poet, Holwell, and White formed Mar. 24, 1835! was to call on him for
lectures on astronomy, etc.

1842 McKay - St. George/Lagauchetière

Adam Thom. gentleman (law student, teacher and editor); arrived in
Montreal in 1832; studied law; edited Settler, or British, Irish and Canadian
Gazette Jan. to Dec. 1833 in which he opposed Unitarians; taught in
Montreal Academical Institution in 1834; edited Montreal Gazette in 1835;
licensed as lawyer in 1837; (1802-1890)

Joined Jan. 22, 1833; Committee 1835

Joined NHS Jan. 1833

D.C.B. xi, 874-877

Francis Thompson, architect

Joined Jan. 22, 1833

Bosworth p. 119 "plan for St. Paul's Church by Mr. Thompson, Architect,
from London, who resided here some years"

Wells and Thompson are credited with plan for St. Anne's Market

P. Tulon, hatter

Joined Jan. 10, 1832

Signed Loyal Address in Nov. 1832
Secretary of Unitarian Society
Died c. 1834

J. Turpin, engraver
Joined Mar. 24, 1835

James Waite, gentleman
Joined Mar. 4, 1834
Bought steamer Montreal in 1833

Christopher Wetherall, joiner
Joined Dec. 6, 1831
1831 census - menuisier
1842 McKay - Police Magistrate in Laprairie?
? related to James Waterall found in 1825 census

George Wetheritt (Weatherhead), plasterer
Committee 1832 (G. Wetherhead), 1833
v. Appendix 1

John White, tinsmith-hardwareman
Committee 1832, 1833, 1834; Treasurer from Dec. 1834; Dec. 1833 fixed
stove and door; Negotiated with the New Mechanics' Institute 1840
Gazette Aug. 23, 1832 obituary of Elizabeth Lunn, wife of John White
hardware merchant and tinsmith
v. Appendix 1

John Whitelaw, carpenter-contractor
Present at presentation of award Sept. 21, 1832; Committee 1833, 1835
v. Appendix 1

Joshua Woodhouse
Committee 1833, 1834, 1835; committee on Bernard model; Negotiated
with the New Mechanics' Institute 1840
v. Appendix 1

Thomas Worthington, plumber
Joined Mar. 12, 1833

Courant Apr. 20, 1833 (ad) late of Liverpool, Plumber, Glazier, etc. Place d'Armes

Member of St. James St. Methodist Church

Charles Wyatt, joiner

Joined Mar. 5, 1833

Francis Wyatt

Committee 1835

William Youle (= Yuile)

Committee 1833

Black partisan in 1831 he became a member of Erskine Church

1831 census - aubergiste West Ward

1832 Captain of Engine no. 1 (Fire Co.)

Other names mentioned during this period

L.-M. Arnault, machinist of Montreal (sic)

Gift of mineral specimens - Jan. 24, 1832

No longer member?

v. Appendix 1

John Durie, teacher

Offer to teach two hours in evening school for sons and apprentices of members in return for use of Institute's rooms for his day school accepted Dec. 10, 1833; April 8, 1834 notified of discontinuance of school because of building repairs and alterations

? later merchant in Ottawa

J.A. Holwell, ordnance corps at Ile aux Noix

Gift of books - Cabinet of Arts; Arcana of Science - Mar. 26, 1833

Member NHS Aug. 1827 became Corresponding member June 1831

Related to W.A. Holwell?

James King, teacher Ste. Anne suburb, Secretary of Philomathic Society which met in Institute's rooms 1832-1833

April 1834 offered to act as teacher, Secretary, Librarian and Museum Keeper for Institute

Robert McGinnis

Gift of Greek and Latin Testament - Jan. 10, 1832

Shannon Pell

Gift of Cobbett's Grammar - June 4, 1833

John Pigott, Three Rivers

received award of \$30. Sept. 21, 1832 for model of improvements to steamboats

J. Rattray

Gift of book - Scientific Irrigation - Feb. 11, 1834

v. Samuel Rattray

Alexander Skakel, Master of Royal Grammar School

Feb. 26, 1833 offered lectures on mechanics gratis with proceeds being used to purchase models for the Mechanics' Institute

Corresponding Members in Alphabetical Order

During the first period of the Institute's history

Joseph Bouchette, Quebec L.C., (1774-1841)

Provincial Surveyor-General. He was in England from 1829 to 1834 to publish The British Dominions in North America, a topographical and statistical description. He had been Founding President of the Society for the encouragement of the arts and sciences in Canada and also a founding member of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec. His previous publication, A Topographical Description of the Province of Lower Canada (1815), had led to the award of the gold medal of the Society for encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce in 1816.

V. D.C.B., vii, p. 95-98,

Corresponding member NHS 1828-1829

Jan. 6, 1829

James Brown, St. Andrews (East) L.C., (1776-1845)

Paper mill owner 1809-1833, former bookseller and bookbinder then owner of Montreal Gazette 1808-1822. Gov. Dalhousie attended his daughter's wedding in 1827. He early supported the dissenting Presbyterian Church at St. Andrews (f. 1818) but later joined the Church of England. **V. D.C.B., vii, 111f.**

Son, W. James Brown Jr., and son-in-law, C.H. Castle, joined Mar. 2, 1830 and Jan. 12, 1831 respectively; sons, Isaac Brown and John Ogilvy Brown, joined Mar. 11 and 25, 1834.

Mar. 16, 1830.

L.G. Brown, Beauharnois L.C.,

Agent for Beauharnois seigniory; Secretary of Agricultural Society from 1828

Apr. 21, 1829

Pierre Chasseur, Quebec L.C., (1783-1842).

A carver and gilder, he opened a natural history museum at Quebec in 1826. In 1828 he received a Government grant to help with the expenses, but by 1836 the costs had mounted so high that the Government took over the collection. **V. D.C.B., vii, 168f.**

Corresponding member NHS 1827-1828

Jan. 6, 1829

J.G. Children, London, England (1777-1852)

Graduate of Queen's College, Cambridge; studied mechanics and mineralogy; F.R.S. March 1807; experimented extensively on galvanic battery; 1828 received Royal Institution medal; from 1816 to 1840 he was librarian of the British Museum, first in the antiquities division and from 1823 in zoology; Secretary of Royal Society 1826-27, 1830-37. V. D.N.B., iv, 249f.

Honorary member NHS 1829-1830

Apr. 21, 1829 proposed by Holwell and Hart

Dr. A.J. Christie, Bytown U.C., (1787-1843)

A former editor in Montreal (Montreal Herald 1819-1821, and later for his brother-in-law, Thomas A. Turner, Montreal Gazette and Canadian Magazine 1824-1825) and one of the founders of the Montreal General Hospital. He published The Emigrant's Assistant (1821). In 1827 he was located in Bytown and in vain he sought a Government appointment as doctor to Rideau Canal workers. V. D.C.B., vii, 182-184

Donated Linnaeus' System of Nature.

Mar. 31, 1829 proposed by Esson and Stevenson

Dr. William Dunlop, U.C., (1792-1848)

Canada Company Warden of the Forests. During 1828 he took part in the Church of Scotland attempt to disprove Strachan's Clergy chart and also clashed with Strachan over Colbourne's education scheme. He was responsible for a detailed geological description and account of vegetation in the Huron tract. In 1831 and subsequent years he was appointed by the Synod of the Church of Scotland as member of a committee to watch over its general interests between annual meetings. V. D.C.B., vii, 260-263

Corresponding member NHS 1827-1828

Dec. 23, 1828

Prof. Eaton, probably Amos Eaton (1776-1842)

Licensed as a lawyer 1802, he returned to Yale to study under Professors Ives and Silliman. He became a popular lecturer and published numerous texts on botany, chemistry and geology from 1817 on. In 1820 he was appointed Professor of Natural History at

Castleton, Vt. After geological surveys in upstate New York and along the Erie canal he was appointed Senior Professor of Rensselaer School, Troy, N.Y., in 1824. V. D.A.B., v, 605f.

Jan. 27, 1829

James Edwards, Albany, N.Y.

July 21, 1829 proposed by Hart and Joseph

William B. Felton, E. tps. (1782-1837)

Land owner, proponent of Lower Canada Land Co. in 1825-26 which was opposed by Lord Dalhousie; appointed to Legislative Council in 1822 and commissioner of crown lands in 1827; he opposed Clergy reserves and supported the right of other Protestant denominations to hold civil registers. V. D.C.B. vii, 281-4

Member of LHSQ

Aug. 4, 1829 proposed by Hart and Boston

John Galt, U.C., (1779-1839)

Canada Company founder and Secretary. From late 1827 he was viewed as a political opponent or ally of political opponents of the Upper Canada ruling clique. He was recalled by the Canada Co. directors early in 1829. He had previously published "Statistical Account of Upper Canada" in the Philosophical Magazine (Oct.-Dec. 1807).

V. D.C.B. vii, 335-340.

Honorary member NHS 1827-1828

Dec. 23, 1828

Charles F. Grece, Ste. Thérèse L.C., (17.. -1844)

A specialist in growing hemp, he was sent out by the Board of Trade in 1805. He received a Government salary and sought in vain a land grant in Lower Canada. He published Facts and Observations respecting Canada and the United States ...Appendix of practical instructions to Emigrant Settlers in the British Colonies (1819). V. D.C.B., vii, 357f.

Sept. 8, 1829 proposed by Allison and Woodhouse. His son, Charles Titus Grece, a lawyer, joined the same date.

William Green, Quebec L.C., (1787-1832). Lawyer, civil official in the House of Assembly, he was Secretary of both the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec and the Society for the encouragement of

the sciences and the arts in Canada. He published a series of papers 1829-1833, one of which on natural dyestuffs brought him the Isis medal of the Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce in 1829. V. D.C.B., vi, 300.

Corresponding member NHS 1828-1829

Jan. 6, 1829 proposed by Boston and Clarke

James Greig, Kirkaldy, Scotland

July 13, 1830

James Hamilton

Member of LHSQ

Jan. 6, 1829 proposed by Hart and Holwell

Samuel Hatt, Chambly L.C.

Legislative Councillor and co-seignior of Chambly.

Jan. 5, 1830

George Hay, Lacolle L.C.,

Mar. 23, 1830

Dr. Hays, Philadelphia, Pa., probably Isaac Hays (1796-1879)

Medical doctor, a graduate of the University of Philadelphia, he specialized in ophthalmology. In 1827 he took charge of the Philadelphia Journal of Medical and Physical Sciences and made it the American Journal of Medical Sciences. In 1828 he edited for publication Alexander Wilson's American Ornithology in 3 vols. V. D.A.B. viii, 462f.

Oct. 6, 1828 proposed by Hart and Holwell

Samuel Hudson, U.S.

Aug. 11, 1829 proposed by Allison and White

Johnson

Jan. 6, 1829

D.T. Jones, Upper Lachine.

Royal Institution Schoolmaster at St. Thomas 1819-1821 and Lachine 1822-1830. Licensed as a surveyor Sept. 21, 1819.

Mar. 30, 1830

Dr. Uriah Laflann, Caldwell Manor L.C. Royal Institution Schoolmaster at Stanbridge 1818-1822 where he taught reading, writing, arithmetic, grammar and geography; he was licensed as a doctor May 4, 1828. V. Audet iii, 142
Aug. 31, 1830

Joseph W. Levy, Baltimore, Md.
Aug. 3, 1830

George Long, New York, N.Y.
May 11, 1830

Peter McArthur, Georgetown L.C.
Arrived from Scotland 1820. Millwright on the Beauharnois seigniory. Sellars, 243f. states that he rebuilt many of the old mills and built new mills in the Châteauguay valley.
May 3, 1831

McDonnell
Jan. 6, 1829

Robert McIntyre, River Beaudette L.C.
Dec. 1, 1829 proposed by Allison and Howson

P. Murta, Chambly L.C.
Apr. 27, 1830

P.H. Ogilvy, Chambly L.C. Former teacher at the Montreal Academical Institution and first Secretary of the Mechanics' Institute, he was a teacher at Braithwaite's school in Chambly from 1829 until at least 1835. A Founding Member of N.H.S. his name was removed for nonpayment of dues. In late December 1829 Esson sought testimony from Ogilvy to clear him of morals charges.
Dec. 29, 1829 proposed by Gaudet and Holman

Thomas O'Neil, Boucher Pointe, Bonnechere, Horton tp. U.C.
Donated specimens of natural history.
Oct. 27, 1829 proposed by Allison and Stevenson

Richard Power, Carillon L.C.
Feb. 9, 1830

Dr. Bernard Raverty
(cf. Bernard Rafferty, teacher, on Doige's 1819 list)
May 26, 1829

During the second period of the Institute's history

Charles Ardoin, Quebec L.C.
Jeweller, member of the Committee of Quebec Mechanics' Institute 1832
Member LHSQ
Feb. 15, 1834

Joseph Bouchette Jr., Quebec L.C. Deputy Surveyor-General, he replaced his father during his absence in Britain 1829-1834.
Member LHSQ V. D.C.B., vii, 97f.
Feb. 25, 1834

Dr. C.H.O. Cote M.H.A., (1809-1850). Graduate of Petit Seminaire, he was one of a group of students who sought to circumvent the medical regulations by a short period of studies in the U.S. Denied a licence to practice by the Montreal Board of Medical Examiners in Jan. 1832, he obtained it from the Quebec Board in April of that year. He was elected to the House of Assembly as a Patriote Party candidate in 1834 and went into exile in 1837. V. D.C.B., vii, 208-211.
Mar. 10, 1835

Samuel Hooker, Niagara U.C.
Corresponding member NHS 1828-1829
Dec. 6, 1831

John L. Milton, Terrebonne L.C. British and Canadian Schoolmaster at Terrebonne.
Dec. 6, 1831
v. Members list supra

James Porteous, Ste. Thérèse L.C.

Jan. 30, 1832

Usher, Chippawa U.C.

Dec. 6, 1831

C. Wyatt, joiner

Mar. 5, 1832

**Appendix C: Libraires in Montreal During the 1820s,
1830s and Early 1840s**

Libraries in Montreal during the 1820s, 1830s and Early 1840s

The Montreal Library, founded in 1796 as a joint stock association with shares at 10 guineas (\$42.50) each,¹ was incorporated April 24, 1819 (59 Geo. iii, ch. 22) "to encourage instruction and disseminate sciences". The act of incorporation granted a site beside the Palais de Justice on condition that a building be erected within five years. It also authorized the library to open reading rooms and a natural history museum. There were ten prominent French-Canadians on the list of persons applying for the library's incorporation in 1819². Subsequent to this date, extensions of the period for erecting a building were sought and obtained, March 9, 1824 (4 Geo. iv, ch. 36) and March 14, 1829 (9 Geo. iv, ch. 45).

At the time of its incorporation the Montreal Library was located in the north wing of the Mansion House Hotel, at 156 St. Paul near Bonsecours Street. This building, which was formerly the residence of Sir John Johnson, was purchased by John Molson Sr. in May 1816 for £7000. Molson had two wings added, refurbished the interior, and converted it to a deluxe hotel at a cost of £20,000. The builders were Chevalier and Phillips³. T. A. Doige asserts that in 1819 the library had 7000 volumes and seventy-one subscribers, thirteen of them being French-speaking⁴. The hotel burned March 17, 1821, but all accounts of the library indicate that the books were saved and moved to the former Methodist chapel⁵. Proprietors and subscribers paid 25s. per year, or

15s. semi-annually, or 10s. quarterly, if paid in advance, or 30s., 20s. and 15s. respectively if payment was delayed⁶.

Shortly after it moved into the Mansion House Hotel and prior to the move for incorporation, the Company of proprietors of the Montreal Library and the Subscribers of the Montreal News Room set up a joint committee to consider amalgamation⁷. It is unclear how long the News Room had been in existence, but it certainly predates the time given in previous accounts⁸. The two societies merged and shared quarters and personnel but the union was not received well by all parties. Following the fire at the Mansion House Hotel, the library and newsroom moved into the former Methodist Chapel, built in 1807 with funds obtained in England by Samuel Coates. The subject of dispute between British Wesleyan and dissident American Methodists from 1815, the chapel had become too small for the growing congregation of Wesleyan Methodists, which had attracted the increasingly affluent second generation of the Fisher family as well as other merchants. The new St. James St. Methodist Church opened February 17, 1821, and the St. Joseph St. chapel was sold for £1000. Some of the mercantile supporters of the newsroom apparently envisaged an Exchange on one floor and a room on the other floor furnished with newspapers and periodicals from the United Kingdom, the United States, and British North America⁹.

The subsequent history of the Montreal Library and News Room was replete with difficulties that must be pieced together from newspaper notices and other materials. It appears probable that the membership of

notices and other materials. It appears probable that the membership of the joint society was drawn into the external political debates and that the number of subscribers declined. At least six of the ten French-Canadians who petitioned for incorporation of the library were active in the campaign against the Union of the Canadas in 1822-1823. On the other hand, the directors of the Bank of Montreal, in particular, who were active in most of Montreal's English cultural activities, were seen as the embodiment of the British party. Still others may have been involved in a split within the English-speaking community that resulted from Dalhousie's favoritism and patronage¹⁰. It is probable that the situation was exacerbated by the financial difficulties of 1825, which brought financial stringency to a number of businesses because of the bankruptcies of several large firms. A decline in membership would render the expense of maintaining the News Room increasingly difficult. This may explain both the request for an extension of time for erecting a building in March 1824 and the notice of March 1826 regarding the independence of the Montreal Library and News Room, which offered the News Room to "merchants and gentry on advantageous terms"¹¹. It seems highly likely that such a sale took place¹².

Armour's Almanack lists slates of officers for the News Room consisting largely of businessmen and membership ranging from one hundred to one hundred thirty for April 1829 and 1831 respectively¹³. Nevertheless, all was not well. A rival, the Commercial News Room, opened in May 1831 at 2 St. Nicholas St.¹⁴. It boasted upwards of one hundred twenty newspapers and invited subscribers to pay \$4.00 per

Merchant's Hall, was announced by John Luckin at 27 Notre Dame Street, but apparently didn't open. The annual meeting of the Exchange News Room invited A.H. Armour & Co. to take charge of the room from 1832. The rivalry and possibly declining tensions within the English community were sufficient to elicit a proposal in February 1833 to unite the Commercial and the Exchange News Rooms. A committee consisting of John Fisher, Edward Cheney, J.T. Brondgeest, T.S. Brown, A.H. Armour, and John Dougall was to attempt to find four hundred subscribers. The resulting Exchange News Room was to move to the upper floor of the former chapel and the lower floor was to be the Exchange. The committee reported within a fortnight that the goal had been attained¹⁵. The Newsroom was supported by annual subscriptions and was open only to subscribers or to persons introduced by a subscriber.

Meanwhile, the parlous state of affairs continued at the Montreal Library. There were at least two meetings of the proprietors in 1827 to deal with the financial difficulties. It may be noted that it was during this period of difficulties that Stephen Sewell withdrew his natural history collection and it became the basis of the newly formed Natural History Society's museum. Library hours were reduced and it was now open only from 11 a.m., rather than 9 a.m., to 4 p.m. Finally, in July 1827 the library was offered for sale by tender and the sale was consummated early in 1828¹⁶.

A meeting of the subscribers of the "New Montreal Library" held Tuesday, March 16, 1828 elected seven directors. Four of those who were chosen were still in office as directors in 1842, namely A.F. Holmes M.D., John Try, William Lunn, and Frederick Griffin¹⁷. Although the Vindicator reported in 1829 that "the Montreal Library is in a thriving state and increasing in books and subscribers"¹⁸, the directors again requested and were granted an extension of time within which to build. Few of the directors listed by Armour were also directors of the News Room; among those that were are Charles Tait and Turton Penn. It may be noted that in 1831, the critical year in the fortunes of the St. Gabriel Street Church, Robert Armour and Rev. Edward Black were members of the library's directorate.

The publication of a catalogue in 1833, as well as in 1824 and 1842, might be interpreted as an attempt to revive interest in the library and increase its base of subscribers. It has been asserted by one historian that the Montreal Library attempted in 1833 to find the means to purchase the extensive holdings of the late John Fleming¹⁹. In spite of the desire of the merchants to use the News Room Building for their own purposes the Montreal Library remained until it moved into the Natural History Society's newly acquired building in 1836. This move may have been facilitated by the presence of A.F. Holmes on the executive of both bodies. At the time of its merger with the Mercantile Library Association in 1844, it may have had as few as 35 paid-up members, who became life members of the latter.

Following a petition to the Governor-in-Chief from the junior doctors of the Montreal General Hospital, which was supported by letters from Dr. William Robertson and Rev. Henry Esson, the **Montreal Medical Institution** was founded in 1822²⁰. Its advertisement announcing the opening of lectures in Nov. 1823 met with the approval of Governor Dalhousie early in the year. The latter, on Feb. 5, 1823, provided the faculty with what many Montreal area doctors considered an unfair advantage by appointing them to membership on the Board of Medical Examiners for Montreal to the exclusion of others²¹.

In August 1823, before the faculty began its first lectures, the members resolved to open a library for students, faculty, and Montreal area medical personnel. The rules of the library adopted August 17, 1823 provided that the library was owned by the Institution collectively and that the shares of members who resigned or died passed to the library. The members of the faculty assessed themselves £7-10s. each on Oct. 6, 1824 and set the schedule of fees. Members, that is the faculty, were to pay £10 on entry and £2-6s. each per year; the student subscription was to be 10s. per year; and medical practitioners might subscribe for one guinea each per year. A prospectus listing the medical journals to which the library subscribed circulated in 1824.

Discontent engendered by the faculty's monopoly of both the teaching and licensing functions in medical education was to have important repercussions in the succeeding years. After the House of Assembly made legal provision for elective Medical Boards, the members of the

Montreal Medical Institution, by then the Faculty of Medicine of McGill College, found themselves ousted from the office of examiner at the election of 1831. In 1834 the election held the same result for the members of the faculty. Later rival schools of medicine arose from this same discontent: the Ecole de médecine et de chirurgie de Montréal (Montreal School of Medicine and Surgery), founded in 1843, incorporated in 1845, and affiliated to McGill 1847 to 1850 and much later (1866) to Victoria University, Cobourg, Ont., in order to be able to grant medical degrees (several of its English-speaking faculty members transferred to McGill in 1849); the St. Lawrence Medical School, founded in 1850; Bishop's Faculty of Medicine, Montreal, founded in 1871; the branch of Laval University established at Montreal in 1878.

The Natural History Society of Montreal was founded in Rev. Henry Esson's dwelling May 12, 1827. Esson and Dr. A.F. Holmes are generally given credit for taking this initiative²². As mentioned above Stephen Sewell withdrew his collection from the Montreal Library and donated it to the nascent society and was elected its first President. Rooms were rented on St. Paul Street from H.H. Cunningham, bookseller, until the society's collections outgrew the space. In 1831 the society moved to 20 St. James Street to the building occupied by the Montreal Medical Institution, which had become the Faculty of Medicine of McGill University. Holmes, who was the major force in the society's work and the medical faculty, may have been instrumental in this move. Then in 1836 the society purchased the house formerly occupied by Mr. Roguies. It shared these premises with the Montreal Library, where

Holmes was also active, until the latter was sold to the Mercantile Library Association in 1844.

Members of the Montreal bar, perhaps spurred by the example of their medical colleagues and the existence of an Advocates' Library at Quebec, circulated a prospectus for an **Advocates' Library**, February 1, 1828²³. Stephen Sewell, Alexander Buchanan, and Chief Justice Reid are usually given credit for taking the initiative. The four judges and thirty-one lawyers who joined adopted regulations for the library, which initially had 325 volumes, and elected an executive March 22, 1828. This was a proprietary library for consultation only and membership was restricted to the judges, lawyers, sheriff and prothonotaries of the Montreal judicial district. It was founded to encourage research in law and jurisprudence and to facilitate professional practice. Entry fees were set at £10 (\$40), rising to £12.10s. (\$50) at the end of 6 months, and £15. (\$60) after a delay of one year. The annual subscription was £2.10s. (\$10) and entry required the assent of two-thirds of the membership²⁴. The presidency was held by English-speaking and French-speaking members but the management committee was controlled by the English-speaking members. When the library was incorporated as the Advocates Libray of Montreal by the Special Council, April 26, 1840 (3-4 Vict. ch. 48) there were thirty petitioners, of whom only three were French-speaking²⁵.

Training for the legal profession was governed by an ordinance issued April 6, 1785 (25 Geo iii ch. 4)²⁶. This act separated the professions of

lawyer and notary and prescribed a five year clericulture, or apprenticeship, in a lawyer's office for law students. This period was followed by an examination conducted by skilled lawyers before the Chief Justice or two or more judges of Court of Common Pleas and the issue by the presiding judge of a certificate attesting to the applicant's character and ability. Following Chief Justice Sewell's opening address to the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec which advocated public law lectures, lawyer Louis Plamondon of Quebec cattempted to set up lectures under the auspices of the Quebec Advocate's Library in 1826²⁷.

In 1830 following a recommendation of Montreal Chief Justice Reid, the Montreal library became the Advocate's Library and Law institute of Montreal and attempted to set up a teaching centre²⁸. There were lectures by Stephen Sewell, Michael O'Sullivan, Denis-B. Viger and others in 1831 and subsequent years, but it is uncertain how long the effort continued. Subjects covered included: natural law, Roman law, French common law and canon law, English criminal and constitutional law, English property law, procedure and rules of evidence. The institute, however, perhaps only too aware of the discontent roused by the medical faculty, refused to attempt to set standards for entry to legal training or to establish a uniform course of education that all students of law were required to follow.

Changes in the training of lawyers were slow to come but Montreal lawyers were in the advance guard. The period of clericulture was reduced by one year for students who had completed the classical

course at one of the classical colleges in March 1836 (6 Wm. iv ch. 10). The McGill Law School was established in July 1848 under William Badgley, almost one year before the Bar Corporation was constituted, May 30, 1849 (12 Vict. ch. 46). The Law School of College de Ste. Marie was in operation from 1851 until 1867 under Maximilian Bibaud. May 23, 1853 the conditions for entry to the study of law and clerkship were set out in law (16 Vict. ch. 130). The Faculty of Law at the University of Laval, Quebec was established June 1854 under A.-N. Morin. The Institut Canadien, Montreal, established its Law School under Joseph Doutre in 1866 and this was followed by the Faculty of Law of the University of Laval at Montreal in 1878.

The Mercantile Library Association was founded Nov. 27, 1840 in the former Wesleyan Chapel, St. Sulpice Street. According to E.C. Moodey the associaton began with 130 members and doubled its membership in the first year²⁹. It also acquired 311 volumes. In 1843 the library moved to the St. Ann' Market Building and sought incorporation, which was accorded December 9th of that year (7 Vict. ch. 47). In the fourth annual report, that of 1844, there is mention of an agreement with the Montreal Lirary for a merger with the shareholders of the latter to become life members of the Mercantile Library. There is also mention of a proposal of the Montreal Religious and Commercial Newsroom to join with the Mercantile Library. The former agreement apparently entailed assumption of the Montreal Library's debt. This burden, together with the increase in rent incurred when the library was displaced by the Government and forced to move to the Nun's Building

on St. Joseph Street, brought changes to the structure of the Mercantile Library. The association henceforth included Merchant Members and from 1845 the Board of Directors chose four Honorary Directors from among this class of members³⁰.

The Association's stated purpose was "to afford to its Members and more especially to its Clerk Members, facilities for improvement in the various branches of Literary and Mercantile Education"³¹. It had been established "for the purpose of forming a Library and Reading Room, and for organizing a system of instruction, by means of Lectures and Classes, for the use and benefit of the members of the said Association, and of such Mercantile Clerks and others as may hereafter become members". To this end the Association proposed organizing a Library, Reading Room, Lectures, Classes, and a Museum. The fee schedule recognized different classes of membership: Senior Clerks, that is, those who earned £25 or more per year, were to pay 20s. (\$4) annually; Junior Clerks, that is, those who had no salary or a salary under £25 per year, were to pay 10s. (\$2); Merchants and others were to pay £1.5s. (\$5); and Life members paid £12.-10s. (\$50)³².

The 1844 report also gives a picture of the activities of the association. G. Tulchinsky refers to it as "a kind of Mechanics' Institute for merchants" with a library, reading room and lectures³³. According to the report there were 300 readers and 2135 volumes had been issued as loans during the year. There were 3837 volumes in the library. The Reading Room, which was open from 7 a.m. to 10 p.m. from May 1 to

Nov. 1 and from 8 a.m. the rest of the year, with the exception of Sunday and holidays, had 4 quarterly reviews, 14 monthly magazines, and 32 newspapers. Despite the extensive French collection from the Montreal Library there had been "little success in gaining French members." The association had a total of 392 members; 160 senior clerks, 68 junior clerks, 106 merchants, 37 life members (35 from the merger), and 21 honorary members. During the year there had been lectures by the Rev. G.F. Simpson, principal of the High School, Rev. W.T. Leach, rector of St. George's Anglican Church, Rev. H. Wilkes, Congregational Minister, Rev. J.J. Carruthers, teacher at the Congregational College, Rev. John Cordner, Unitarian Minister, F. Badgley M.D., Justice Charles-Elzéar Mondolet, Christopher Dunkin, John B. Turner, John Dougall, and J.M. Ferres. The Museum contained "philosophical apparatus for illustrating lectures, ... a cabinet of curiosities, ... and a collection of Canadian mineralogy"³⁴.

The association boasted "friendly intercourse with the Mechanics' Institute" where it had been permitted the use of the Lecture Hall for its lectures. It also reported that it had lobbied to obtain shorter working hours for clerks and had been successful with regard to retail drygoods where there was an agreement to close the stores at seven p.m. during four months of the year as was done in Great Britain. There was a proposal to open classes in French, Bookkeeping, Mathematics and Drawing. The constitution permitted:

Any twelve or more members of the Association, joining together for the study of any branch of literature, arts, science or commercial education, ... free use of the Class

rooms ...³⁵

Donald Fraser (1826-1892), a member of the Council of Directors in 1845-6, and later a clergyman, wrote in his autobiography of his participation in the activities of the association.

What I enjoyed during the early years I spent at Montreal was the leisure for literature after business hours. Having joined a "Mutual Instruction Society" of young men, I read essays and took part in debates. I can recollect that I wrote out my earliest speeches and committed them to memory. Even my replies in debates were prepared. I thought over what might be said on the other side, and put what I should advance in reply into language as pointed as I could command At the request of the Mercantile Library Association of Montreal, I even delivered one or two public lectures about this time. They were crude productions, but were kindly received by my audiences. Under a nom de plume, I also contributed to a magazine called the Literary Garland³⁶

The association had negotiated with the Natural History Society, in 1844, the erection of a building to be shared by the two societies but had found that this was "impractical." After a period of time at 8 Great St. James Street, the association raised \$20,000 in 1863 and erected its own building which opened May 1, 1866. The ground floor was rented out as stores and had several small meeting rooms, the second floor housed the library and reading room, the third floor was the lecture hall and the fourth floor was occupied by the Art Association of Montreal, which had been incorporated in 1860. E.C. Moodey characterizes it as the place for "the social rendez-vous of the elite of the commercial class."³⁷ In 1870 the association had 720 members, 4700 volumes in

the library, and subscribed to 76 weekly and monthly magazines for the reading room. Two years later the association sold its building and moved to Ste. Catherine Street and in 1885 it merged with the Fraser Institute.

Notes

1. For previous accounts of the Montreal Library: E.-Z. Massicotte, *Bibliothèques d'autrefois*, Les Cahiers des Dix 12 (1947), p. 11; V. Morin, *Clubs et sociétés notoires d'autrefois*, ibid. 14 (1949), p. 192ff.; E.C. Moodey, The Fraser-Hickson Library: An Informal History (1977) p. 15f.; Y. Lamonde, Les bibliothèques de collectivités à Montréal (17e à 19e siècle) (1979) p. 37-39. Early accounts and sources include: T.A. Doige, An Alphabetical List (1819) p. 24f.; R. Armour, Montreal Almanack (1829, 1830, 1831); N. Bosworth, Hochelaga Depicta (1839) p. 172; R.W.S. McKay, Montreal Directory (1842-1843); H. Verrau, *Livres et bibliothèques*, Journal de l'Instruction publique (1868) p. 149. Early subscribers had a choice of paying 10 guineas, or of limiting their share to 5 guineas providing it was paid before March 9, 1796, or of paying all or part of the subscription price in books acceptable to and valued by the directors (v. Montreal Gazette March 7, 1796). An appeal for further donations of books permitted the library to open in the Old Court House, Tuesday, Wednesday and Saturday each week, from May 3, 1796, the new Palais de Justice having opened that same year. In December 1796 the subscription for new proprietors was fixed at 10 guineas and annual subscribers were to pay \$5.00 a year or \$3.00 a half year.

Among the directors of the Montreal Library one finds in various references: James Walker, Pierre-Louis Panet, Louis-Charles Foucher, Robert Jones, James McGill, Thomas Forsyth, John Richardson, John Reid, James Caldwell, Joseph Frobisher, Thomas McCord, Samuel Gerrard, John Molson, F.W. Ermatinger, John Boston, Henry Griffin, Sir John Johnson, William McGillivray, Stephen Sewell, Norman Bethune, Jean Bouthillier, James-McGill Desrivières, F.-A. Larocque, P.-D. Debartzch, J.-P. Saveuse de Beaujeu, Louis Guy, J.-M. Mondolet, L.-J. Papineau, Louis Perreault, F.-A. Quesnel.

The librarians included: G. Radford (v. Montreal Gazette April 18, 1796, Dec. 12, 1796); Gilchrist (v. obituary Canadian Spectator May 23, 1824); William Langhorn (v. obituary Vindicator Apr. 27, 1830 "of Westmoreland, England"); William Suter (v. Canadian Courant Nov. 29, 1826); Henry Hillock (v. termination notice Canadian Courant Nov. 24, 1832).

2. V. Morin, op. cit. p. 194, lists: Jean Bouthillier, James-McGill Desrivières, François-Antoine Larocque, P.-D. Debartzch, Jacques-

Philippe Saveuse de Beaujeu, Louis Guy, Jean-Marie Mondollet, Louis-Joseph Papineau, Louis Perreault, F.-A. Quesnel.

3. M. Denison, The Barley and the Stream: The Molson Story (1955) p. 109
4. T.A. Doige, An Alphabetical List of Merchants, Traders and Householders Residing in Montreal 1819-1820 (1820) p. 142
5. Montreal Gazette Mar. 21, 1821 (citing Montreal Herald) "the contents of the Montreal Library were fortunately preserved, though somewhat damaged in the removal."
6. V. Montreal Gazette Dec. 9, 1796 and Canadian Courant Mar. 25, 1826.
7. The Mansion House Hotel opened Dec. 22, 1818. Notices to proprietors of the Montreal Library and subscribers of the News Room are found Montreal Gazette Dec. 30, 1818, Jan. 6, 1819 and Montreal Herald Jan. 2, 1819, Jan. 30, 1819.
8. Different accounts place the beginning of the News Room in 1821, for example N. Bosworth, op. cit. p. 152.
9. V. Canadian Courant, Feb. 14, 1833
10. V. N. MacDonald, Some notes on the Montreal Literary Scene in the mid-1820s, for an examination of one element of this little explored aspect of Dalhousie's government.
11. Canadian Courant, Mar. 25, 1826.
12. One may reach this conclusion by examining the date of subsequent annual meetings of the Newsroom, viz., Thursday, Mar. 31, 1831 and Monday, Apr. 2, 1832, and R. Armour's listing of membership figures at April 1st of each year.
13. Op. cit. p. 28 (1829) and (1831). Among those whose names appear in connection with the Montreal Newsroom are: A.H. Armour, J.-T. Barrett, J. Breckenridge, J.T. Brondgeest, T.S. Brown, Edward

Cheney, G.C. Davies, John Dougall, Wm. Edmonstone, John Fisher, John Frothingham, Benjamin Hart, John Jamieson, J.G. McKenzie, Alex Miller, Turton Penn, Andrew Shaw, Joseph Shuter, T. Mitchell Smith, Charles Tait, T.B. Wragg.

14. Canadian Courant, Feb. 11, 1832 and Montreal Gazette, Apr. 12, 1832
15. Canadian Courant, Feb. 16, and Mar. 6, 1833.
16. The Montreal Gazette index lists the sale as taking place March 17, 1828.
17. V. R.W.S. Mackay, Montreal Directory 1842-3, p. 232.
18. Vindicator, July 7, 1829.
19. H. Verrau, art. cit. Although the Cuvilliers published a catalogue of the library of John Fleming in 1833, the sale of the books appears to have taken place in 1843 (V. Montreal Transcript, Feb. 14, 1843 advertisement for the continuing sale of Fleming's books).
20. M. Benjamin, McGill Medical Library (1960), p. 6; V. H. Esson, Answer of the Rev. Henry Esson, to the charges and statement of a committee of the session of St. Gabriel Street Church, Montreal
21. V. Vindicator, July 15, 1831, which hails the end of the monopoly of the four examiners, and the letter in the same edition which deplors "the underhand way in which the two old members of the Board (Arnoldi and Loedel) were so unceremoniously turned to the right about"; and the letter ibid., July 18, 1831 which calls the former Board a "junta" and states "the gentlemen of the old Board had taken advantage of the partial administration of Lord Dalhousie"; V. B. Tunis, Medical Education and Medical Licensing in Lower Canada: Demographic Factors, Conflict and Social Change, p. 88f.
22. V. Morin, Les Cahiers des Dix (1949) p. 206; S.B. Frost, Science education in the nineteenth century, p. 32.
23. M. Nantel, Les avocats à Montréal, p. 193.

23. M. Nantel, *Les avocats à Montréal*, p. 193.
24. Laws for the Government of the Advocate's Library, Montreal (1828).
25. M. Nantel, *op. cit.*, p. 193.
26. *Ibid.*, p. 191.
27. A.W.P. Buchanan, The Bench and Bar of Lower Canada Down to 1850, p. 46; D.C.B. vi p. 585.
28. M. Nantel, *op. cit.*, p. 194; A.W.P. Buchanan, *op. cit.*, p. 123f.
29. E.C. Moodey, *op. cit.*, p. 20.
30. Rules and Regulations (1855) section iv, article 9.
31. *Ibid.*, section i, article 2.
32. *Ibid.*, section ii, articles 2 and 3.
33. G. Tulchinsky, The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation 1837-53, p. 31.
34. Fourth Annual Report (1844).
35. Rules and Regulations, Classes.
36. D. Fraser, Autobiography of the Late Donald Fraser, D.D. (1892) p. 9f.
37. *Op. cit.*, p. 20.

**Appendix D: Museums in the Canadas in the 1820s
and 1830s**

Museums in the Canadas in the 1820s and 1830s

Thomas (Tommaso) Delvecchio (1758-1826), owner of the Auberge des Trois Rois, Place Royale, Montreal from 1812 to 1826, opened the Museo Italiano at 4 Place du Vieux Marché August 24, 1824. He is said to have had many curiosities, including stuffed animals, fish, birds, amphibians and reptiles. There were also wax figures and various curiosities among the collection. The Natural History Society considered in September 1829 whether to acquire it but turned it down. Bibaud in the May 1830 issue of Bibliothèque Canadienne confirms the statement of later commentators that Delvecchio's son-in-law Pierre-Cajetan Leblanc acquired the collection. He apparently operated the museum until the dispersal of its contents about 1853.

Another person who opened a public museum in the early 1800s was **Pierre Chasseur** (1783-1842), an artisan of Quebec city. Having assembled a collection of natural history specimens in his home in rue Ste. Hélène he began to admit paying visitors from 1826. Chasseur was a Corresponding member of the Natural History Society from July 1827 and of the Montreal Mechanics' Institute from January 1829. Unable to maintain the museum and to afford the costs of upkeep and acquisition, his friends in the Popular party obtained a Government grant of £350 for him in 1828 to enable him to continue. There have been suggestions that the Société pour l'encouragement des Arts et des Sciences arose out of Chasseur's difficulties and that this society, which was mainly liberal and francophone in origin, proposed its own Natural History cabinet to rival that of the Literary and Historical Society. In

straitened circumstances once again in 1830, Chasseur's friends obtained for him a second grant of £400. Chasseur continued to struggle with the demands of his collection until the Government took it over in 1836. At the time of the inventory, which J.-B. Meilleur made for the Government, it contained 500 bird specimens, 100 mammals, and 40 specimens of reptiles and fish. Apparently fire destroyed a part of the collection in 1836-7 and in 1841 the balance was merged with the collection of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec.

There was one other individual collector who had plans to open a museum for the public in the early part of the nineteenth century, **Charles Fothergill** (1782-1840), of Pickering and York. Winner of the 1830 Natural History Society silver medal for his essay describing the quadrupeds of North America, he became a Corresponding Member in August of the same year. During the mid-1830s he made plans to open a museum, art gallery, botanical garden and zoo in connection with the Lyceum of Natural History and the Fine Arts. He managed to collect a large number of natural history specimens but it is not known if they were exhibited publicly.

In addition to individual collectors there were a number of institutions and societies which had collections that might be open at times to the public. Among the most accessible probably were those attached to educational institutions. These were generally viewed as an integral part of the school's educational mission. One can see this clearly in the case of the British and Canadian school which John L. Milton opened at

Terrebonne. It is no less true, however, of an institution like the Petit Seminaire at Montreal, whose director, Rev. P. Roque, exchanged duplicates with the Natural History Society and offered the use of the Seminary's orrery for the Natural History Society lectures on astronomy.

The best known of these institutional collections were those of the Montreal Natural History Society and the Quebec Literary and Historical Society. The Quebec Literary and Historical Society museum had as its basis a botanical collection donated by Countess Dalhousie in 1827. It was greatly enhanced by Captain H. Bayfield's donations of geological and mineralogical specimens. The 1829 merger with the Société pour l'encouragement served to further enhance the Literary and Historical Society museum. The 1829 Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society have a catalogue of the mineralogical cabinet. In addition, the Natural History classes of Dr. Joseph Skey and the circular which Skey distributed in 1830 brought individual donations from many areas. In 1830 the Literary and Historical Society received a grant from the Legislature of £250 for instruments and scientific material. From 1829 to 1839 the museum grew largely through individual gifts. Then in 1841 the Literary and Historical Society received what remained of Chasseur's collection. There were losses of specimens in fires in the Government building housing the Literary and Historical Society in 1854 and 1862.

Based on the private collection of Stephen Sewell which was ceded to it in 1827 the Montreal Natural History Society collection grew through individual donations, such as the botanical specimens of James Robertson, astute purchases arranged through other collectors and trades of duplicate specimens. The museum was visited by Sir John Franklin R.N., F.R.S. and John Richardson M.D., F.R.S. in August 1827, by Lord Dalhousie in June 1828 and by L.-J. Papineau and Sir James Kempt in June 1829 and was the basis of the Government grant to the Natural History Society in 1831. At the 1834 annual meeting the Natural History Society recorded that there were 1600 specimens in the mineralogical cabinet, and a botanical collection which included plants, shells and birds, but was deficient in quadrapads. Dr. A.F. Holmes used the collections as a basis for lectures in 1828.

Moreover, there were other major collectors, some of whose collections ended up in institutions and others whose collections were lost by mischance or inadvertance. Some of these persons are well known. I have already mentioned Stephen Sewell, who may have formed the basis of his collection while acting as Secretary for the boundaries survey commission in 1817. In addition, one could list Dr. A.F. Holmes, whose collections were given to McGill University, William Sheppard, and others. Some of these collections were available only for private viewing by friends and intimates of the collectors. Others were displayed in public locations or lent for display on special occasions, such as the loan of Holmes' mineralogical collection for the lectures

early in 1830 at the Montreal Mechanics' Institute on the substances used in building.

It is within this context that one must view the Mechanics' Institute museum formed in 1829. A museum, like the later exhibitions, was viewed as educational in nature permitting individual study of the specimens found there and providing a basis for lectures or papers before the institute.

Appendix E: Annexes to Chapter Six

Executive Members, Promoters and Some Active Members of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal to 1845

James Affleck -

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

George Anderson - General Committee Aug. 1843.

1844 Directory George Anderson, Piano teacher, McGill St.

A. Arthur - Nominee 1840, Auditor.

J.P. Ashton - latter 97 Notre Dame St.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute

S.C. Bagg - General Committee Aug. 1841, Rec. Secty pro tem
(Aug. 1843) Life Member 1841.

Thomas A. Begley - Constitution Committee 1840, Nominee 1840,
Scrutineer 1840, Solicited books and Life Members 1840, General
Committee 1841, V. Pres. 1841 (replacement).

George Bowie - General Committee 1844.

Joseph Busby Bronsdon - General Committee Aug. 1844
(replacement), Incorporator 1845.

Joseph R. Bronsdon - General Committee 1842, Membership Committee
1843.

McKay 1842 J.R. Bronsdon, carpenter & joiner.

1842 census, Joseph R. Bronsdon, joiner, St. Lawrence suburb.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

Daniel Brown -

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

David Brown - General Committee 1842, V. Pres. 1843, Pres. 1844.

John Burges -

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

W. Carter - Nominee 1840, Auditor, Solicited books and Life Members 1840, Membership Committee 1843.

McKay 1842 Wm. Carter, ship chandlers & wholesale grocers, 206 St. Paul St.

John Cliff - General Committee 1842.

McKay 1842 John Cliff, clerk, St. Urbain, Ste. Catherine.

1842 census, John Cliff, architect, St. Lawrence suburb.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

James Cooper - General Committee Aug. 1843.

McKay 1842 James Cooper, carpenter, St. Denis & Ste. Catherine.

1842 census, James Cooper, carpenter, St. Denis.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

Dr. Andrew Cowan - Nominee 1840, Solicited books and Life Members 1840, General Committee 1840, Treasurer 1842, 1843, 1844, 1845, Incorporator 1845.

George Dickinson - General Committee Aug. 1844 (replacement), Incorporator 1845,

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

James Dickinson - Membership Committee 1843.

Librarian and Secretary Oct. 1840 - Nov. 1843.

McKay 1842 Dickinson, architect, Mechanics' Institute.

John Dillon - General Committee 1842.

John Dodge - General Committee 1844.

T. Donohue - General Committee Aug. 1841.

John Dougall - Treasurer 1841, Membership Committee 1843.

Life Member 1841.

1844 Directory John Dougall, Dry goods store, 117 St. Paul St.

Robert Drake

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

Arthur Dunbar - Constitution Committee 1840.

James Dunbar - Nominee 1840, General Committee 1840.

W. Dunlop - General Committee Aug. 1844 (resigned).

McKay 1842 J. & W. Dunlop, plasterers, Dorchester & St. Simeon.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

James Ferrier - V. Pres. 1842, Membership Committee 1843.

Life Member 1841.

Replaced J.W. Dunscomb as City Councillor after July 1, 1841, and was re-elected as Councillor in Dec. 1842, and as Mayor in 1844. Founder of the High School of Montreal.

John Fletcher - Nominee 1840, General Committee 1842, 1843, Aug. 1844 (replacement), Incorporator 1845.

1844 Directory John Fletcher, Confectioner, 9 Main St., St. Lawrence suburb.

William Footner - General Committee Aug. 1844 (resigned), V. Pres. 1845, Incorporator 1845.

McKay 1842 W. Footner, architect.

John Fraser - Constitution Committee 1840, Nominee 1840.

Joseph Fraser - Signatory, Secretary pro tem, Nominee 1840, Solicited books and Life Members 1840, V. Pres 1841.

Notre Dame St.

1844 Directory Joseph Fraser, Cabinetmaker, 131 Notre Dame St.

Charles Garth - General Committee Aug. 1841, 1843, Rec. Secretary 1844, (1845), Incorporator 1845.

George Garth - General Committee 1844, Membership Committee 1843.

McKay 1842 George Garth, Plumber & Brazier, Craig St. & Ste. Elizabeth, Fortification Lane.

1842 census, George Garth, plumber, 4 Fortification Lane.

1844 Directory George Garth, Plumber, Glazier, Gas Fitter and Coppersmith, St. Lawrence Hill.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

John George - General Committee 1845, Incorporator 1845.

George D. Gibb - General Committee Aug. 1842, Corr. Secretary 1843 (res. Nov.).

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

John Gibson - Nominee 1840, Library Committee 1840, General Committee 1840, Aug. 1841, Aug. 1842. - proprietor Commerical Messenger.

R. Goodwillie - General Committee 1844.

McKay 1842 Goodwillie & Wark, carpenters and joiners.

Robert Graham - Signatory.

1844 Directory Robert Graham, Bookseller, 156 St. Joseph St.

Robert Hadden - Constitution Committee 1840, Nominee 1840.

Dr. Archibald Hall (1813-1869) - Constitution Committee 1840, Nominee 1840, Solicited books and Life Members 1840, Corr. Secretary 1840.

June 1840 offer to give course of lectures on Experimental Chemistry.

Joseph N. Hall - Signatory.

Richard Hall - Nominee 1840, Library Committee 1840, General Committee 1840.

W. Hardie - Nominee 1840.

McKay 1842 Wm. Hardie, painter.

1844 Directory W. & J. Hardie, Painters, College St.

M.J. Hayes - Auditor, Solicited books and Life Members 1840. Life Member 1841.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

Montreal waterworks.

John W. Herbert - Signatory, Constitution Committee 1840, Nominee 1840, General Committee 1840, Aug. 1840, V. Pres 1842, Membership Committee 1843.

Place d'Armes - Provisional Committee met in his house.
1844 Directory J.W. Herbert, Music store, 110 Notre Dame St.

John Hilton - General Committee Aug. 1844, Incorporator 1845.
McKay 1842 John Hilton & E. Baird, cabinetmakers & upholstery, Place d'Armes, St. Alexandre & Lagauchetière.
Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

H. Hitchin - General Committee Aug. 1841.

J. Holland - General Committee Aug. 1840, Aug. 1842.

Benjamin Holmes - Nominee 1840, Trustee, Solicited books and Life Members 1840, V. Pres. 1840, 1841 Membership Committee 1843. Life Member 1841.

Cashier of Bank of Montreal.

Member of Parliament for the City with George Moffatt 1841-1844.

Elected Alderman in Dec. 1842.

Founder of the High School of Montreal.

J. Horner - Nominee 1840, General Committee Aug. 1842.

C. Hose - Nominee 1840.

George Hose - Nominee 1840, Corr. Secretary 1841, 1842, 1844, Membership Committee 1843.

W.S. Hunter - Nominee 1840, Solicited books and Life Members 1840.

Hutchison - Membership Committee 1843.

There was a David Hutchison as well as a James Hutchison, baker, members of the former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

John Ibbotson - Teacher 1840-41.

John H. Isaacson, Rec. Secretary 1841 (replacement), 1842 (Nov. to Europe), 1843.

John Kelly - General Committee 1844.

James Knof -
Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

John Lambert - General Committee 1845, Incorporator 1845.

John Lovell - Signatory, Nominee 1840, Solicited books and Life Members 1840, General Committee 1840, Aug. 1840, Membership Committee 1843.

J. Mathewson - Membership Committee 1843.

John Mathewson - Signatory, Constitution Committee 1840 Nominee 1840, Trustee, Solicited books and Life Members 1840, General Committee 1840, Aug. 1841, Membership Committee 1843.
Soap and candle-maker.
Replaced D. Handyside as Councillor after Sept. 12, 1840, and was re-elected as Councillor in Dec. 1842.

G. Matthews - General Committee 1843.

Thomas McGinn - Constitution Committee 1840, Nominee 1840, V. Pres. 1845, Incorporator 1845.

N. McIntosh - Scrutineer 1840, General Committee 1841.
Made mechanical apparatus in 1842.
1842 Middlemiss & McIntosh, carpenters and joiners.
There was a John McIntosh, joiner, member of the former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

J. McLennon - Nominee 1840.

Donald McNevan - General Committee Aug. 1844 (replacement),
Incorporator 1845.

James McNider - Nominee 1840, General Committee 1840.

William Maitland Milln - Nominee 1840, General Committee Aug. 1843,
Aug. 1844, Corr. Secretary pro tem (Nov. 1843), Incorporator 1845.
Jan. 1843 offer to teach Drawing class.
Supported 1843 proposal for female members.
Taught Architectural and Mechanical Drawing 1844.

James Morrice - Scrutineer 1840, General Committee 1845,
Incorporator 1845.

Morrison - Membership Committee 1843.

Ebenezer Muir - Signatory.

W. Muir - Nominee 1840.
1844 Directory William Muir, Merchant Tailor, St. François Xavier St.

Hector Munroe - General Committee Aug. 1843.
Joined Nov. 1840.
Builder.

John Ostell - Pres. 1845, Incorporator 1845.
McKay 1842 J. Ostell. city surveyor, City Hall, Great St. James &
McGill.
1842 census, John Ostel, surveyor, 13 St. James St.
Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

W. Parkyns - Nominee 1840.
Engineer, partner of John Molson Jr. in St. Mary's Foundry.

W. Patton -
Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

W. Pullan - Nominee 1840.
McKay 1842 E. Pullan, carpenter and joiner.

W. Pringle -

Librarian Apr. -Oct. 1844.

There was a George Pringle, joiner, member of the former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

John Redpath - Presided opening meeting, Constitution Committee 1840, Nominee 1840, Trustee, Solicited books and Life Members 1840, Pres. 1840, 1841, 1842. Life Member 1841.

1842 census, John Redpath, Queens Ward.

Replaced Charles Tait as City Councillor in 1840 and was re-elected as Alderman in Dec. 1842

Free Church Committee 1844.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

James Roy - General Committee Aug. 1842.

1844 Directory J. & W. Roy, Dry goods store, 172 St. Paul St.

Joseph Roy - Nominee 1840, Library Committee 1840, General Committee 1840, Aug. 1840. Nomination to executive 1841 subject of dispute.

Notre Dame St. - dry goods store

Elected Alderman in Dec. 1842.

George Savage - Signatory.

McKay 1842 George Savage & Son, watches and jewellery, Notre Dame & St. Gabriel.

1844 Directory George Savage & Son, Watchmakers & Engravers, 100 Notre Dame St.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

Robert Scott - Nominee 1840, Treasurer 1840.

Life Member 1841.

J.A. Shand - General Committee Aug. 1841.

There was a Joseph Shand who was a member of the former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

Noah Shaw - Constitution Committee 1840.

McKay 1842 Noah Shaw, carpenter and joiner.
Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

W. Shaw - Nominee 1840.

Charles Shrimpton - Signatory, General Committee 1845,
Incorporator 1845.

John Smith - Constitution Committee, 1840 Nominee 1840, General
Committee 1840, Aug. 1840, V. Pres. 1841 (resigned), Pres. 1843. Life
Member 1841.

St. Paul St. - Provisional Committee met in his house.

Responsible for classes in 1840-41. Nomination to executive 1841
subject of dispute. Made mechanical apparatus in 1842?

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

McKay 1842 John Smith, looking glass manufacturer, 121 St. Paul St.

McKay 1842 John Smith, carver and gilder, 121 St. Paul St.

1844 Directory John Smith, Looking Glass Manufactory, 133 & 113 St.
Paul & Notre Dame Sts.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute?

J. Spiers - Nominee 1840.

McKay 1842 James Spears, blacksmith, St. Lawrence & Vitre.

McKay 1842 James Spears, smith.

1842 census, James Spears, blacksmith, St. Lawrence suburb,

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

William Spiers - General Committee Aug. 1843, Membership Committee
1843.

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

McKay 1842 William Spears, carpenter and joiner.

1842 census, Wm. Spiers, builder, Queens Ward.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

James Springle - Nominee 1840, General Committee 1840, Rec.
Secretary 1841 (resigned)

May 1840 offer to teach Descriptive Geometry.

Alexander Stephenson -

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute?

A. Sutherland - Nominee 1840.

John Sutherland - General Committee 1844.

McKay 1842 J. Sutherland & W. Burnet Co., blacksmiths, Chenneville & Vitre.

McKay 1842 Sutherland & Burnet & Co., smiths.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

Henry Taylor - Nominee 1840, General Committee 1840, Aug. 1840, 1842.

Made mechanical apparatus in 1842.

Homer Taylor - V. Pres. 1843, 1844.

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

William Telfer - C. Secty 1845, Incorporator 1845.

John Thornton - Signatory.

1844 Directory John Thornton, Coach Factory, Fortification Lane & Craig St.

James Turner - General Committee 1845, Incorporator 1845.

John Tweedy (Tweedie) - Nominee 1840, General Committee 1841.

Made mechanical apparatus in 1842.

S.S. Ward - Signatory, Constitution Committee 1840, Trustee,

McKay 1842 Ward, Brush & Co., Eagle Foundry.

John Watson - General Committee Aug. 1843.

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

William Watson - Nominee 1840, General Committee 1845, Incorporator 1845.

Elected City Councillor in Dec. 1842.

John Wells - General Committee Aug. 1844 (declined).
architect.

Ebenezer Wetenhall - Nominee 1840, Rec. Secretary 1840, General
Committee Aug. 1842.
Librarian May-Oct. 1840.

John White - General Committee 1841, 1843, Membership Committee
1843.

McKay 1842 M. White & Co., wholesale & retail hardware, 91 St. Paul
St.

1842 census John White, merchant, 25 St. Paul St.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

Thomas White - Nominee 1840, Solicited books and Life Members 1840,
General Committee 1841, 1843.

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

1844 Directory Thomas White, Shoe & Leather store, 157 St. Paul St.

Andrew Whitelaw - General Committee Aug. 1844 (declined).

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

John Whitelaw -

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

John Whitelaw Sr. - General Committee 1843, V. Pres. 1844.

Supported 1843 proposal for female members.

McKay 1842 John Whitelaw, carpenter, Chenneville & Vitre.

1842 census, John Whitelaw, joiner, St. Lawrence suburb.

Member of former Montreal Mechanics' Institute.

Würtle - Nominee 1840.

Public Lectures at the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal

"the best means of awakening in the public mind a desire for knowledge" - First Annual Report Feb. 2, 1841.

1840

General Committee Apr. 9 Thomas Miller, Introductory Public Lecture on the Merits, objects and uses of Mechanics' Institutes, at British and Canadian School House, Wed. Apr. 15, 1840.

General Committee Apr. 20, 27 Christopher Dunkin, Self improvement and the Education of the Working Classes, at the opening of the Institute's Rooms, May 14, 1840.

General Committee May 21, 25 Rev. Andrew Findlater, Geometry and its Application to Mechanics, June 3, 1840.

General Committee Sept. 19, J.S. Buckingham, Lecture to Mechanics' Institute and Temperance Society (200 free tickets for lecture on The objects and interests of Mechanics' Institutes in conjunction with the cause of Temperance), and reduced admission to his course of lectures on Egypt and Palestine in Sept. 1840; but unable to lecture for the Institute.

General Committee Sept. The Committee declined an offer from A. Young to lecture on Phrenology for £12. (Young was lecturing on his own account and giving private readings in phrenology.)

General Committee Oct. 7, 12 Captain Wilson, Two lectures on Astronomy; the institute refused to pay £4 fee because only two of a series of four lectures were delivered, Sept. -Oct. 1840.

General Committee Jun. 22 Dr. Archibald Hall, Ten lectures on Popular Chemistry, "illustrated by numerous delicate, and highly interesting experiments," during September to November 1840, 5s. for course, 1s.3d. per lecture (£5-10 expenses for apparatus).

The Quarterly Report in Nov. 1840 noted that the "lectures have not been so well attended for some time past, as might have been expected.

General Committee Nov. C. Dunkin, Course of lectures on Phrenology, Nov. 1840 - Feb. 1841, 10s. for course, 1s. 3d. per lecture;

General Committee Dec. 14 to arrange Dunkin's transportation;

General Committee Jan. 21, 9th lecture.

General Committee Nov. 12, 18 Henry Driscoll, Course of lectures on Jurisprudence, one in Nov. 1840; General Committee Tues.

Dec. 15 other lectures Jan.-Feb. 1841 (simultaneously with Dunkin's lectures on alternate Tuesdays); receipts 17s.7.5d.

General Committee Dec. 7 Dr. S.C. Sewell, Three lectures on Human Physiology, began Dec. 8.

General Committee Nov. 12 J. Young to rent the lecture room at 15s.

1841

Alexander Skakel, Course of Lectures on Natural Philosophy, (suspended part way through because of Skakel's indisposition), mid-February 1841 on.

A.P. Hart, Two lectures on Vegetable Physiology.

A.P. Hart, Description of St. Jean de Acre.

General Committee Mar. 1 C. Dunkin and Dr. A. Hall made "life members."

... Sutton, Introductory lecture on Geography (a student at the Baptist Seminary, he was refused further use of the room because his teaching was "not calculated to benefit the members"), April 1841.

... Weir, Lecture on Education, Tues. Apr. 7, 1841.

General Committee Jan. 14 Rev. William Taylor, offered six to eight lectures on Astronomy. (It was noticed in the Nov. Quarterly report that Rev. Baile, Principal of the French college, had loaned the orrery for Taylor's lectures.)

Rev. Henry Esson,

J.M. Ferres,

Dr. F.T.C. Arnoldi, Lectures on Medical Jurisprudence (interrupted).

General Committee Oct. 20 Charles Mondolet, offered four lectures on Education. (In Oct. 1841 he proposed to deliver four lectures but at General Committee Jan. 1, 1842 it was announced that Mondolet was unable to deliver his lectures.)

1842

General Committee Sept. 6 Milln offer to lecture on the Steam Engine was deferred; Lecture room rented to Parnell and Collier, later to Gates et al.

Dr. Archibald Hall, Vegetable Organization.

... Ferguson, The Importance of a Study of Natural Philosophy to Mechanics.

Rev. Mr. Giles, The Genuis and Poetry of Burns.

Mr. Milln, Lectures on the Steam Engine.

1843

General Committee Nov. 6, 1843 the Mechanics' Institute rented the room above the News Room for its Lecture Hall at £15.

General Committee Nov. 13 sought lectures from Driscoll, Revs. Wilkes, Carruthers, W. Taylor, Black; B. Workman, D.B. Panrathar (?).

General Committee Nov. 22 Lecturers to receive lecture ticket; officers of Mercantile Library Association to receive lecture tickets.

Letter Book Dec. 16, 1843 tickets for lecture series for Rev. D Black and Rev. W. Taylor.

(Copy of printed Prospectus of the Syllabus for the Fourth Session to be given at their Lecture Room, over the News room, St. Joseph Street)
W.M. Milln, Introductory Lectures on the Nature and Objects of Mechanics' Institutes.

W.M. Milln, Iron as a Material for Ship Building.

W.M. Milln, Philosophy of Machines.

F.T.C. Arnoldi M.D., Natural Philosophy: a series.

Robert Godfrey M.D., ... a series.

Rev. Roberty Cooney, Rise and Progress, Constitution, and Resources of the British Empire: a series.

Rev. Dr. Mathieson, ... a series.

H. Driscoll Q.C., Philosophy of Education.

Arthur Fisher M.D., ... a series.

A. Hall M.D., A series on some subject of Chemical Science.

Rev. W. Taylor, ... a series.

George Garth, Artificial Illumination, Warming and Ventilating Buildings.

Rev. Dr. Black, ... a series.

George Hose, Vegetable Poisons.

George Hose, History of Ancient Greece.

Rev. G.F. Simpson, ...

John Smith, Savings Banks.

John Smith, Life Insurance.

Rev. H. Wilkes, ...

The introductory lecture was to be Tues. eve Dec. 12, and there were to be two lectures a week; the actual program differed from that printed above as seen below.

Rev. Dr. Mathieson, Opening Lecture.

W.M. Milln, The Nature and Objects of Mechanics' Institutes, Feb. 1844.

Rev. W. Taylor, Two lectures on the Life of Alexander the Great.

George Hose, Vegetable Poisons, two lectures.

A. Cross, Right to Property.

Arthur Fisher M.D., Effects of Trade and Professions on Health: a series.

Rev. Robert Cooney, Rise and Progress, Constitution, and Resources of the British Empire: a series.

Dr. Carter, Six lectures on Chemistry.

T.S. Lee, Two lectures on Shakespeare's Characters.

Thomas McGinn, Lecture on Astronomy.

Thomas McGinn, Lecture on Mechanics.

George Hose, Lecture on the Art of Plumbing.

G. Garth, Lecture on Botany.

G. Garth, Lecture on Warming and Ventilation.

James Ferrier, Lecture on Anatomy.

James Ferrier, Lecture on the Physiology of the Horse.

C.M. Forte C.E., Lecture on Mechanical Science.

1844

Ad Feb. 6 for twelfth lecture of Mechanics' Institute and the first by the Rev. Robert Cooney.

General Committee Feb. 26 lecturer Dr. Rosenstein.

General Committee Jul. 17 to rent lecture room at \$2 per night to McIntyre for phrenology lectures.

General Committee Aug. 8 Dr. Gullan M.D. of Glasgow proposed to lecture.

Letter Book Aug. 31 cancelling lecture series by Dr. Gullan because of his conduct.

General Committee Oct. 1 offer of Fleming C. Eng. to lecture and act as librarian declined.

General Committee Nov. 26 and Letter Book Nov. 30 declining lectures on "Discovery of the Art of Healing" by Dr. Rotenstein

Annual Report Feb. 1845 gives the following lectures for the autumn 1844.

Rev. Dr. A. Mathieson, Opening Lecture

Dr. Carter, Six lectures on Chemistry

T.S. Lee, Two lectures on Shakespeare's Characters

T. McGinn, Lecture on Astronomy and Lecture on Mechanism

G. Hose, Lecture on the Art of Printing

G. Garth, Lecture on Botany and Lecture on Heating and Ventilation

James Turner, Lecture on Anatomy and Physiology of the Horse

C.M. Tate, Lecture on Mechanical Science

" ... your Committee are pleased to observe that the attendance of members ... has been generally better than usual ... several of those lectures have been delivered by your own members (mechanics)"

1845

General Committee Jan. 9 Rev. Robert Cooney unable to lecture because he went to Upper Canada.

Letter book Jan. 27 to Rev. Cooney re: his lecture

Letter Book Apr. 1 notified Frederick Wilson of the Board of Trade that the Lecture Hall was no longer required after May 1st.

General Committee Aug. 9 lectures to commence 1st Tuesday in Oct.

General Committee Sept. 4 problem obtaining lecturers.

General Committee Sept. 11 Dunkin and Dr. Carter consented to two lectures each; Dr. Sewell promised two, Rev. Mr. Ritchie to deliver the opening lecture, McGinn.

1846

General Committee Oct. 7 A. Delisle offered three lectures on botany. Letter Book Nov. 25 letters asking for a lecture or lectures to: Meredith, Dunkin, Lee, McGiven (?), G. Garth, Miller, Atkinson, Elder, A. Delisle, W. Footner; Revs. Adamson, Bancroft, Leech, Robertson, Taylor, McGill, Churchill, Leishmann; Drs. Sutherland, Arnoldi, Barber, Fisher, Bernard.

Letter Book Dec. 3 Hornsby re: lectures and classes on Phonography.

1847

General Committee Feb. 1 A member complained to the Times (Jan. 18) of McGinn's lecture and he attempted to resign from the Institute.

Annual Meeting (Nov.) - "urge young members especially to attend the lectures." There was also a debate over free admission of the public to lectures.

Letter Book Nov. 18 letters asking for a lecture or lectures to: Revs. Cordner, Wilkes, Taylor, McLoud (sic), Churchill, Jenkins, Cramp, Leach, McGill, Robertson, Dunlop; Drs. Barber, Hall, Fisher, Bernard; Messrs. Dunkin, Lee, Meredith, Futvoye, Fleet, Johnson, Kingsford, Elder, Tate, Guerin, Popham, McGinn.

General Committee Nov. 29 proposal for lectures to be free and advertized as such lost on a split vote but carried on a second ballot.

General Committee Dec. 6 leased lecture room of the Odd Fellows Hall at £10 for 4 months.

Letter Book Dec. 8 to Mercantile Library Association could not reciprocate as usually had with free tickets to executive for lectures because Mechanics' Institute lectures were to be free but invited to attend. Lectures Dec. 14 Rev. Cordner, Dec. 22 W. Kingsford

1848

Letter Book Mar. 16 lecturers sent tickets: C. Dunkin, G.R. Robertson,

Rev. J. Cordner, Rev. W. Taylor, W.C. Craflor (?), S.C. Sewell M.D., Wm. Bristow, F. Badgley M.D., H.H. Whitney, Rev. W. Leishmann, Rev. C. DeWolfe, W.G. Mack, ... Barber.

Letter Book Apr. 12 thanks to S.C. Sewell for lecture course.

General Committee Sept. 18, Ordinary Meeting Sept. 25 Lecturers during several sessions made Honorary members: Dr. Barber, Rev. Dr. Cramp, C. Dunkin, Rev. Dr. H. Wilkes, Rev. W. Taylor, Dr. S.C. Sewell. General Committee Sept. 25 rented Odd Fellows Hall for lecture room at £12.10. 0

Annual Report - "The course of lectures delivered during the past winter proved highly successful."

General Committee Dec. 4 exchanged tickets with the Athenaeum Club.

1849

General Committee Sept. 4 rented the Odd Fellows Hall for 13 lectures £6.5.0.

Annual Report - "arrangements for a course of 13 lectures during the next winter."

1850

Letter Book Feb. 7 denying bill of Montreal Courier re: lecture ad, General Committee Feb. 25 McGinn couldn't lecture Feb. 26, Rev. Taylor Mar. 12; asked to reserve lectures for next year.

General Committee May 13 President of Mercantile Library Association asked about uniting lectures next winter.

Letter Book Oct. 30 to attempt to arrange joint lectures with the Mercantile Library Association.

Annual Report - "last winter ... a short course of lectures ... delivered by a number of gentlemen." "The attendance at most of our lectures delivered last year was rather better than in former years."

Arrangements made for the approaching winter.

General Committee Nov. 25 Mercantile Library Association declined joint lectures.

1851

General Committee Feb. 21 Rev. Cramp to replace Leeming as lecturer.
Annual Report - "A short course of lectures was delivered during the last winter which were well attended ..."

Introductory Lecture	C. Dunkin
Oratory with reminiscences of English speaking	G.A. Barber M.D.
The Ancient Hebrews as Promoters of the Arts and Sciences	Rev. A. DeSola
The Progressive Development of the Physical Sciences	A. Hall M.D.
The popular amusements of the English	W.G. Mack
The Deluge of Scripture History	T.S. Hunt
Man's Dominion over Physical Nature	Rev. A. Mathieson D.D.
Animal Physiology	Rev. J.M. Cramp D.D.

Tues. Dec 30 C. Dunkin

1852

Jan. 13 Rev. John Cordner "Shoemakers"
Dr. Howard lectures on Chemistry.

General Committee Nov. 8 lectures to begin Jan. 4, 1853

1853

General Committee Jan. 4 heard that Mr. Thackeray received \$800 for 4 or \$1000 for 6 lectures.

Annual Report - Lectures (past winter)

Jan. 4,

Dr. Barber	Philosophy of France (Auguste Comte)
T.C. Keefer	"Montreal", its Bridges, Railroads, and Canals
Rev. J. Hutchinson	Architecture, Ancient and Modern

(two lectures)

Rev. Mr. Inglis

John Dougall

Dr. A. Fisher M.R.S.E.

W.G. Mack

The Social Position of Women

Elements of Success in Business

The Uses of the Beard

The Revolutions of France and England,
and their Results

Apr. 8

Rev. A. Mathieson D.D.

The Material Progress of the Age

General Committee Nov. 21 letter from Hew Ramsay that McGill would have lectures on Chemistry and Philosophy during the winter and anxious to secure the cooperation of the Mechanics' Institute; public 10s., Mechanics' Institute members 7s.6d., apprentices 5s.

1854

Annual report - "the attendance was greater than on any former year."

Dec. 13, 1853 in Odd Fellows Hall (General Committee Dec. 12)

Rev. W. Bond

The Pleasure and Profit of Science

D.C. McCallum M.D.

The new Theory of the relation of Forces

T.C. Keefer

The Ottawa

Rev. John Cordner

The social Position and Rights of Women

Rev. A. Lillie D.D.

Robert Burns

A.N. Rennie

Poetry - its relation to History

W. Miller

The Steam Engine

Rev. W. Taylor D.D.

Spirit Rappings

(General Committee Feb. 6 Dr. Bernard objected to lecture by Dr. Taylor on Spirit Rapping as sectarian in character.)

W. Miller

The Causes and Prevention of Steam
Boiler explosion

B. Chamberlin

Our Country, and our Duty to it

Mar. 14

Rev. D. Inglis

The True Patriot

General Committee Feb. 27 sublet upper room Odd Fellows and Rechabites at £30 per annum.

General Committee Nov. 20 best available lecturers to be obtained for 6 to 8 lectures from Jan. 9, 1855 in spite of Committee recommendation to

omit lectures. Rev. Wm. (?) Corner to give Opening lecture at the Festival but it was finally dispensed with.

1855

General Committee Apr. 2 Dr. R.P. Howard to lecture on Chemistry with experiments; Rev. Dr. D. Marsh, Quebec contacted for other scientific lecture at opening of new Mechanics' Hall.

General Committee Apr. 9 Hon. Mr. Justice Aylwin to deliver Inaugural Address at opening.

General Committee Apr. 16 declined Outram lectures on English ballads.

May 21 Inaugural Address of new Mechanics' Hall - Hon. Justice Aylwin (printed together with two member essays on The Nature and Objects of Mechanics' Institutes).

May 23 R.P. Howard M.D. Lecture on Chemistry

May 25 Thomas McGinn Lecture on Astronomy with Illustrations

Sept. 3 Lecture Committee appointed

Letter Book Nov. 9 wrote W.M. Thackeray re: lectures

Annual Report - "Strenuous efforts were made to obtain a Course of Lectures during last winter, but they (Lecture and Classes Committee) regret to say their efforts were unsuccessful."

Nov. Garth, new President, advocated lectures on scientific studies weekly.

General Committee Dec. 3 announced acceptance of lecture invitation by the Right Rev. Bishop of Quebec(!), Professor Dawson, Rev. Mr. DeSola.

General Committee Dec. 10 Dr. Barnston to lecture

1856

General Committee Jan. 26 and Letter Book Jan. 28 wrote W.J. Paterson of Boston to lecture for expenses plus half of proceeds, suggesting three lectures.

General Committee Feb. 25 McGill lectures - rental of Hall at half price in return for free entry of Mechanics' Institute members.

Annual Report - "14 lectures including a course of five lectures from J.W. Patterson Esq., of Massachussets, and formerly of Kansas."

Dec. 11, 1855 Lord Bishop of Montreal

Some Remarks on Colonial Institutions

Jan. 10, Feb. 7, 1856 Dr. Barnston

Structure and Life of the Plant

Feb. 12, 14, 16, 21, 23 W.J. Patterson

Thackeray, his books and his lectures

Mary, Queen of Scots

Burns, his genius and Poetry

On the Kansas Question (two lectures)

Feb. 29 Dr. Barnston

Structure and Life of the Plants

Mar. 5 Professor Dawson

Coal and coal Fields

Mar. 13 Rev. A. DeSola

Arts and Sciences among the Ancient Jews

Mar. 20 Rev. D. Fraser

On Compensation

Apr. 29 Major Lachlan

The Island of Anticosti

July 9 Wm. M. Milln The causes and prevention of Boiler explosion

The Lecture and Class Committee recommended that the Institute discontinue "the present system of voluntary Lectures, and endeavor to obtain competent Persons to deliver Courses of Lectures on such subjects as ought to be brought prominently before the members of a Mechanics' Institute."

Oct. 20 reply to Hamilton Mechanics' Institute inquiry re: professional lecturers in Montreal area: "we have always depended for lectures upon Amateurs, and that there are no parties at present in Montreal to recommend in that capacity" (i.e., professional lecturing).

Letter Book Dec. 5 wrote asking for a lecture or lectures to: E.H. Parsons, Principal J.W. Dawson, W.C. Baynes, Rev. John Cordner, C. Dunkin, B. Chamberlin, T.C. Keefer, Alexander Morris.

Dec. 15, Rev. Cordner declined to lecture

1857

General Committee Jan. 19 Barnston account 7s.10d. for lectures last year.

General Committee Feb. 16 Chamberlin to lecture Fri. (20) and Dunkin (27); Doherty's offer to lecture on telegraphs later accepted.

Annual Report - mentions five lectures but states that there were also other lectures by groups which had rented the Hall

B. Chamberlin	On the title and territory of the Hudson Bay Co.
C. Dunkin	On some of Shakespeare's delineations of character in McBeth
... Doherty	The Telegraph, its influences and improvements explained
Dr. Hingston (?)	On the theory of Sounds with practical applications
Professor Dawson	On Mineral veins with Maps and Drawings and description of their history

(1858

Annual Report - "During the past winter your Committee were not called upon to make arrangements for the usual course of lectures, in consequence of the Board of Arts and Manufactures of Lower Canada having engaged some of the best talent in the country, for the delivery of a course on scientific subjects, exceedingly well adapted for such an institution as ours. The lectures, being free to all, were well attended. They were delivered in the Hall of the Institute ...

Feb. 22 Professor Howe (McGill) The Principles of Wheel Work

Mar. 1 Professor Robins (McGill Normal School) Artificial Light

Mar. 8 Mark J. Hamilton (Prof. at McGill) Steam

Mar. 15 Wm. M. Miller Mechanical Engineering

Apr. 12, 19 Professor Mills (Bishops Lennoxville) Ventilation

Apr. 26 Professor Robins Artificial Light

" ... it is the intention of the Board of Arts and Manufactures to organize a similar course during the coming winter."

(1859

Board of Arts and Manufactures Lectures

Professor Kindal, Toronto, "On the Connection between Experiment and Theory in the progress of Scientific Discovery."

Professor Thomas Sperry Hunt, Course of seven lectures, "On the Economic Geology of Canada."

Annual Report - mentions free access to the lectures of the Board of Arts and Manufactures (listed above)

(1860

Proposal for Joint course of Lectures of Board of Arts and Manufactures and Mechanics' Institute of Montreal.

Annual Report - mentions lectures of Professor Robins (McGill) on Iron and the allied metals under the Board of Arts and Manufactures

Proposal for Joint course of Lectures of Board of Arts and Manufactures and Mechanics' Institute of Montreal.

(1861

Annual Report - lectures under the Board of Arts and Manufactures

Principal Dawson On the Operations of the Board

Professor Hunt On Bitumen and Mineral Oils

Professor Robins On Motive Power

B. Chamberlin B.C.L. On Living and Learning, needs of the working man, having reference to Sanitary Reform and Education

Professor Darey On the Manufactures of France (in French)

D. Brown B.C.L. On the History of Law and Letters Patent of Invention

"These lectures although free were not so well attended as they ought to have been."

(1862

***Board of Arts and Manufactures of Lower Canada 1862 The general condition of the society appears satisfactory, but the withdrawal of all Government aid from the Mechanics' Institutes appears to have resulted in the failure of some of them, and in crippling, materially, the**

usefulness of others. Some few of them, however, in cities and towns are not only self-supporting but prosperous.

(1863

General Committee Feb. 23 Dr. Wanless application to be allowed to deliver lectures (on Homeopathy) in the Hall of the Institute was declined.

***Board of Arts and Manufactures of Lower Canada 1863** The Report of the Lower Canada Board expresses a regret that the grant of \$2000 annually is not sufficient to enable them to carry out, so energetically as could be desired, the important trusts with which they have been charged; but the withdrawal of grants to Mechanics' Institutes, and 'so called institutions,' is regarded with favor by the Board.

***In consequence of the liabilities which have accumulated,** notwithstanding the special grant of \$20,000 from Government, on the Exhibition erected in Montreal, at the time of the visit of the Prince of Wales, the board was compelled to mortgage the building to the contractor, who has since foreclosed and the property has been advertised for sale. The sale, however, has been postponed, pending the result of an appeal to Government for further aid, and the issue of some cross-actions brought at the instance of McGill College.

(1864

***Board of Arts and Manufactures of Lower Canada** The report of the Lower Canada Board merely sets forth anew the financial difficulties by which all its efforts are paralysed, and which it cannot overcome without the intervention of the Government.

(1865

Application from the Art Association to use the Hall for 5 weeks from 20th Feb. accepted at rental of \$50 per week plus gas.

Annual Report "... not able to arrange any lectures We have now an excellent Hall and some Apparatus which with slight additions would

afford us the means of enabling Scientific and other Gentlemen to give very interesting lectures.

(1866

Annual Report "It is a cause of regret to your committee that they have been unable to devise and carry out any scheme of lectures during the past year."

(1867

General Committee Nov. 25 letter from M. Lacroix proposing to deliver a lecture under the patronage of the Mechanics' Institute the proceeds of which should be devoted for the benefit of the Institut Canadian (sic). It was agreed to allow him the Hall free.

(1868

(1869

Annual Report mentions four lectures in aid of the library delivered by Revs. Baldwin, Campbell, Irvine, Carmichael.

Classes in the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal

1840

Quarterly Meeting May 5 recommended classes for mutual instruction. Subsequently James Springle offered to teach a class in Descriptive Geometry.

Semi-Annual Meeting Aug. 4, 1840 lauded the "virtues of scientific knowledge and general education" and gave notice of classes in Descriptive Geometry, Grammar and English Composition, and Elocution.

General Committee October 7 there was notice of a Drawing class to be taught gratis. All classes were to be under the superintendence of a member of the Management Committee.

Quarterly Meeting Nov. 3 notice of classes Drawing, Writing, Arithmetic, Reading, Elocution, Grammar and Composition due to J. Smith.

Annual Meeting (Feb. 2, 1841) reported that **Mathematics, Algebra, and French, superintended by John Ibbotson, Perspective and Architectural Drawing, superintended by Springle and Dickinson, were the only classes to succeed.** (Hence proposed classes in Reading and Elocution, Grammar and Composition, and Arithmetic did not succeed).

1841

General Committee Feb. 15 Hose proposed rules for a Philological class.

Minute Book March 15 notice of classes posted for English Grammar, Elocution and Composition, French, Geography, Arithmetic and Mensuration, Algebra and Geometry. Bookkeeping and Astronomy were added to the list in late Mar. and an ad was to be placed in the papers.

Minute Book Mar. 29 proposal by McDonald to teach 5 nights per week at \$10. per month for English Grammar, Arithmetic, Mensuration, Geography, Composition, elements of Geometry. Decision deferred.

Minute Book Apr. 19 Sutton's offer to teach Geography was declined after Public Lecture ("not calculated to benefit members.")

Minute Book Jun. 8 **French class** met June 14 to consider offer of M. Thérion of classes Monday, Wednesday and Friday 8-10 p.m. at £20 per year (members 5s. quarterly, apprentices 2s.6d.). There were 8 students.

Quarterly Meeting Nov. 2 reported **French class** closed in autumn due to falling attendance.

Minute Book Nov. 10 C.W. Whitney proposed a course in Elocution and Alwin H. Baker a singing class. Notice was to be given.

Second Annual Report (Feb. 8, 1842) reads "Your Committee gave notice of their willingness to assist by all means in their power the formation of classes of instruction in various branches of education this has been answered only by **reformation of the French class, under Mons. Therion, and which your Committee are happy to state proceeds with considerable success.**"

1842

Letter Book Aug. 6 wrote Gov.-Gen. Sir Charles Bagot inquiring about the equipment of the Montral Normal School

Minute Book Nov. 15 offer of Willbrenner to teach French at 5s. per month

1843

Minute Book Jan. 4 Milln offer to teach class at 2s.6d. per month.

Third Annual Report (Feb. 7) "Your Committee would call your attention to the notices for forming classes which were posted in the News Room, and which has resulted in the formation of a **drawing class which is conducted by Mr. Milln**, ... who teaches the class gratuitously."

"It was contemplated by some of your Committee to establish an evening school; ..."

Minute Book Apr. 7 proposal for a school

Letter Book Apr. 26 wrote to Milln expressing surprize that class had broken up because the Committee had contemplated displaying the drawings.

Minute Book Nov. 6 engaged **James Maxwell as Teacher and Librarian** at £75 per year. **Day School to open Dec. 4, 1843.**

Junior classes: Reading, Writing, Arithmetic and English Grammar; 7s.6d. per quarter for children of members, 10s. for non-members.

Senior classes: Bookkeeping, Algebra, Euclid's elements of Geometry, Latin Grammar; 10s. per quarter for children of members, 15s. for non-members. Sons of deceased members to be admitted free of charge.

School Committee - Smith, Taylor, J. White, T. White, J. Fletcher.

Prospectus to be printed.

Letter Book Nov. 15 wrote to Librarian Dickinson that his services were no longer required as of Dec. 1

Minute Book Nov. 17 Day School to open Mon. Dec. 4.

1844

Fourth Annual Report (Feb. 6) stated that the **Day School** had 20 scholars and the **evening school** which was free to members had 24 scholars. **W.M. Milln** had 13 pupils in **Architectural and Mechanical Drawing**.

Minute Book Mar. 10 decision to seek a Librarian.

Letter Book Mar. 18 wrote Maxwell unable to provide living space from May 1.

Minute Book and Letter Book Mar. 26 wrote Maxwell offering £50 plus half the revenue of the school in return for **Day School, evening classes** and oversight of Reading Room.

Minute Book Apr. 29, May 30, **W. Pringle** was chosen Librarian in April at £30 per annum and was to help move the Institute.

Minute Book May 30 an inquiry into the state of the school was instituted.

Minute Book Sept. 16 to establish a debating society for members

Minute Book Oct. 10 complaint against Librarian

Minute Book Oct. 31 engaged **Mr. Trowing (?)** as Librarian

Minute Book Nov. 26 advertized for a Teacher for French and Drawing classes. Minute Book Dec. 21 and Letter Book Dec. 23 offered **Rev. Mr. Lapelletrie** 3s. per month per pupil taught Mon. and Wed. evening; there were 14-16 pupils on the list.

Minute Book Dec. 26 Lapelleterie asked 5s. each pupil. He was offered 5s. per month for first 12 pupils and 3s. for rest. **Ryder** offered to teach the Drawing class.

1845

Minute Book Jan. 20 classes to begin again; **French Wed., Drawing Thurs.**

Letter Book Jan. 27 Maxwell's services as Schoolmaster no longer required after May 1st.

Annual Report Feb. 1845 "There is at present established in the rooms of the Institute a **day school, composed of 37 pupils, a reading,**

writing, and arithmetic class, composed of 23 pupils, an architectural and mechanical drawing class, composed of 8 pupils, a French class, composed of 12 pupils, and a debating class, composed of 30 members.

Letter Book Mar. 19 wrote to Maxwell asking for account of number of students per month to settle dispute over payment.

Minute Book July debating class wanted Thurs. evening (Committee night) - only Tues. or Sat. open

Sixth Annual Meeting (Nov. 3)" ... (the Institute) was established for the purpose of affording to the working classes that instruction to the principles of the arts, in which they are daily practising, and for the extension of the various branches of Science and useful knowledge." Motto "Knowledge is Power."

Minute Book Nov. 13 notices of classes in French, Arithmetic and Drawing, Bookkeeping class for General Instruction.

Minute Book Dec. 4 **French class under Weilbrenner and Drawing class to open alternate Weds. as soon as sufficient pupils come forward.**

1846

Minute Book Oct. 7 notice of classes for instruction in Drawing, French and Mathematics.

Minute Book Nov. 9 **French (Weilbrenner) and Drawing (Milln)** classes open for registration.

Minute Book Dec. 1 **Phonographic class** under Futvoye to be added.

Letter Book Dec. 3 thanks to **Hornsby** for lectures and classes on phonography.

1847

Ordinary Meeting Sept. 13 Resolution "to bring the members of the Institute into closer connexion with each other and thereby afford a better opportunity for mutual instruction ... one Evening in the week throughout the year should be set apart for the purpose of Conversation on any subject or matter connected with the Arts and Sciences that may

then be introduced." Defeated 7 to 6. Controversy ensued when Futvoye published an account of the meeting.

Annual Report (Nov. 8) "It is a matter of regret that classes are by no means so well attended as the very great advantages they offer to the Junior members more especially demand ... **The French and Drawing Studies** of so much importance appear to have been but little attended to during the past Season.

Phonography attracted considerable attention and the Class was well attended.

The Debating Class was more numerous and better sustained.

Minute Book Nov. 22 Bernard Quin offered to teach classes.

Minute Book Dec. 27 Drawing class - 6 pupils? or 6 average attendance?

1848

Minute Book Mar. 13 Footner, Drawing Master, sought payment of £10 (£4 per month)

Annual Report (Nov. 6) "**French, Drawing and Phonography Classes** were formed during the past winter but none of them can be said to have met with the success they deserve. **The Debating Club** in connexion with the Institute held weekly meetings during the winter months and its debates, which were usually carried on in a very creditable manner, were well attended."

Teacher of Drawing Class paid £12

Noted superior accommodation for classes from May 1.

1849

Annual Report (Nov. 5) Noted great depression to Commercial and Manufacturing Classes. " ... **all attempts to get up classes proved unsuccessful** and that there is little prospect of any being formed during the present Winter."

1850

Annual Report (Nov. 4) "**unable to establish any classes** during the past winter in consequence of the small number of members who

expressed an intention to attend them." Expressed hope for Drawing, French and Mathematics classes.

Minute Book Nov. 11 gratuitous classes in French, Arithmetic, English Grammar, Drawing and Music to be considered.

Drawing and Arithmetic at 2s.6d. per month.

1851

Annual Report (Nov. 3) "It is a matter of regret to your Committee that so little had been done relative to this important means of carrying out the object for which your Institute was formed, the instruction of its members in the various branches of science and useful knowledge necessary or advantageous to them in their pursuits in life, but your Committee would with pleasure refer to the beginning that was made last winter by the formation of a **Drawing Class** which during the time it existed was attended by upwards of twenty Students. Your Committee cannot turn to another Department without expressing their hopes that no effort will be wanting ... to make the Institute an Educational as well as a Literary Association."

Minute Book Dec. 15 **Drawing classes by Smith and Duncan.**

1852

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1853

Annual Report (Nov. 7) "**Instruction in Drawing, Linear and Perspective was gratuitously given by the Rev. J. Hutchinson and James Duncan** to a limited number of apprentice members, during the months of February, March and April."

Minute Book Nov. 14 Thanks to Rev. J. Hutchison and James Duncan for conducting Drawing class the past winter.

Minute Book Nov. 28 Drawing class to open as soon as possible.

1854

Minute Book Jan. 9 **Mechanical Drawing class - W. Miller (Gray), Architectural Drawing class - D.S. Macfarlane (Kay), Ornamental and Landscape Drawing - James Duncan.**

The classes were free to all members of the Mechanics' Institute. There were nearly 80 members at the opening of classes and the number reached nearly 100.

Minute Book June. 12 **Petition to Parliament** "That, whereas it is expedient to establish, in connection with this Institute, ... a system of Free Classes, for the instruction of the members of the Institute in the various branches of Science and Art ...

Annual Report (Nov. 6)" ... adopted Free Class system during the past winter, a measure which induced a large number of apprentices and others to connect themselves with the Institute." "The Sub-committee on Classes having observed that during former years the Classes were attended by but a very small number of the Members, perhaps not averaging more than from 12 to 18, resolved to abolish the small charge usually made for admission, and to afford instruction in the Classes free to all members of the Institute. The result was, that immediately on the announcement of this proceeding, the applications for admission numbered upwards of 100, being as many as the limited accommodation would admit of. Instruction in Mechanical, Architectural, and Ornamental Drawing was given by W. Miller, D.J. Macfarlane, John Kay and James Duncan. Messrs. Duncan, Miller and Macfarlane, having refused to accept any compensation for their services, were presented with tickets of Life Membership.

Your Committee hopes that the Free Class system, so auspiciously commenced, will be further extended by their successors, affording instruction in other branches of knowledge, requisite for the proper education of the youth of our working-classes.

General Committee Nov. 20 Drawing and Mechanical Drawing - W. Milln,

Architectural Drawing - Lambert, Kennedy, Reid

Ornamental and Landscape Drawing - Duncan and Spence,

Geometry and French - Dutton,

Classes to open Dec. 15.

It was recommended that each teacher give one lecture to his pupils in place of the regular lecture program.

1855

J.M. Kerr's Prize essay" ... while the intercourse they thus establish, tends to exalt the Mechanics' social feelings, they likewise open up opportunities for improving the mind, means to obtain knowledge - which would otherwise be beyond his reach. The nature and objects of Mechanics Institutes are to place such examples as those (Stephenson, Burritt) before the mechanic to impress him with the conviction that life has a nobler and better end than toil - to improve his moral, to elevate his social and intellectual qualities - to give him a source of amusement and pleasure for his leisure moments - to impart to him instruction that will make him wiser, better and happier in his youth, and be a solace and comfort to him in old age." A.T. Campbell's second place essay "On the one hand they are intended by means of classes and lectures to give the members an acquaintance with the first principles in literary and scientific knowledge; and on the other, by the possession of newsrooms and libraries, they are designed to supply the lighter literature of the Press, as well as the standard works on every instructive subject

It must be steadily borne in mind that the great design is instruction, and that the pleasures of intellectual recreation must be subservient to it."

General Committee Aug. 27 received accounts from James Langland, Dutton and Duncan for teaching classes.

General Committee Sept. 17 Transcript ad for teachers of Mechanical Drawing, Architectural Drawing, Practical Geometry, and French Language.

Annual Report (Nov. 5) " ... it is quite clear that an institution affording cheap or gratuitous instruction in mechanics and kindred sciences, with the study of models and apparatus, would tend largely to improve taste, stimulate invention and add immensely to the fame and wealth of the Province ... without the potent aid of Government, or unless enterprising and public spirited individuals come forward with liberal contributions, the objects referred to, must remain for a long time to come, unaccomplished."

"The classes were organized early in December for instruction in:

- | | |
|--------------------------|------------------------------------|
| 1. Mechanical Drawing | W.M. Miller and
James Langlands |
| 2. Architectural Drawing | John Lambert, T.D. Reed |

- | | | |
|----|---|---|
| 3. | Landscape and Ornamental
Drawing | and Wm. Kennedy
James Duncan and
J.C. Spence |
| 4. | Practical Geometry, and |) |
| 5. | The French Language |) J.T. Dutton |

The attendance of each of the classes was exceedingly good; upwards of 150 members having derived gratuitous instruction in one or other of the above named branches of education. Messrs. Miller, Lambert, Reed, Kennedy and Spence, in giving their efficient services gratuitously ..."

"... the future Mechanics of Montreal, whose apprentice-evenings were devoted to the mental exertions and literary recreations of this Institute."

Motion called for "monthly Meetings of the Members of the Institute for the purpose of engaging in discussions on Scientific Subjects ... meetings for Mutual Instruction."

Appendix printed extract from Alfred Perry "Le Conservatoire des Arts et Metiers (Paris)."

General Committee Nov. 12 mention of resolution at Annual Meeting to have monthly meetings for the discussion of scientific subjects.

James Duncan, James Langland, Charles F.A. Markgraf, Wm. McLean and H. Chevalier ready to teach classes.

Garth, newly elected President, advocated "competent teachers"

General Committee Nov. 29 to charge 5s. per pupil as fee for school.

General Committee Dec. 17 **Mechanical Drawing class** to be offered.

1856

General Committee Jan. 7 problem of non-attendance of teacher.

General Committee Mar. 10 petition to Hon. Sir Edmund W. Head stated that the Mechanics' Institute had 800 members "mostly Mechanics" and gave "instruction and assistance in the objects of Mechanical and General Science."

General Committee Apr. 14 David McFarlane presented account for 10s. times 20 nights for a drawing class.

General Committee Aug. 11 **Address to Gov.-Gen.** "... the condition of the Mechanic or Manufacturer in Canada yet needs much improvement, that they should be given here, either by public or private endowment,

those means of instruction, which the Governments of France and Britain are now affording with such liberality to the Mechanics of those Countries, we venture to express the hope that the time is not far distant when the mechanics may have their College in either section of the Province, not less than Professional man, and when his ingenuity will be judiciously fostered by rewards, as the labor of the Canadian Agriculturist is today."

Annual Report (Nov. 3)" ... it was decided to make a nominal charge of one dollar for each pupil, and a notice to that effect having been posted in the Reading Room for several weeks, a drawing Class was opened with 26 pupils on the 20th Dec. 1855 and was continued till the middle of March 1856.

Lists were also opened for several other classes but the number of names enrolled was so far below what might have been expected that after due Considerations the Committee did not feel warranted in incurring more expenses than the formation of the drawing Class, the attendance at this throughout the season was remarkably good, many of the pupils devoting themselves to their studies with great diligence and zeal, and under the efficient teaching of Mr. Macfarlane made very very great progress."

General Committee Nov. 24 classes for Drawing, Writing, Arithmetic and Mathematics contemplated. Committee asked for £30 to supplement 5s. fee required of each pupil.

1857

General Committee Jan. 5 **Thomas Young to teach the drawing class at 10s. per night two nights per week.**

General Committee Jan. 12 **Mr. Walshe offered to furnish teachers free for classes of Mathematics and French.**

General Committee Jan. 19 Young presented account for £4 for drawing class for previous year.

General Committee Jan. 26 - controversy - Lecture and Class Committee wanted to dispense with Young's services saying that he was incompetent and ill; the Committee resigned when the General Committee did not fire Young.

General Committee Mar. 3 petition to Government: "as the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal has at present in operation Classes for the instruction of its members in the various branches of the Artistical and Mechanical Education, essential to a large and important portion of the Inhabitants of the Province ... enabling it to further one of its principle (sic) objects of existence, the improvement of Mechanics and Apprentices, who are from their daily avocations debarred from participating in the advantage of the educational Institutes of the day."
General Committee Mar. 16 Thomas Young account for drawing class

General Committee June 10 on discussion of Bill for the encouragement of Arts and Manufactures

General Committee July 13 discussion re: Board of Arts and Manufactures authorized by the act. Communication with Hon. P. Vankoughnet.

General Committee July 23 (adjourned Ordinary meeting) with 25 present balloted for 22 delegates permitted by membership.

David Brown	G.W. Weaver	John Lovell
N.B. Corse	Alex Ramsay	W. Parkyn
J. Fletcher	B. Chamberlin	J.P. Doyle
H. Bulmer	J. Grant	A. Perry
A.A. Stevenson	J.A. Converse	J. Redpath
Alex Murray	Wm. Rodden	Hon. J. Young
H. Lyman	Dr. Barnard	J.C. Spence
Wm. Spier		

Annual Report (Nov. 2) "In the early part of the winter a **drawing class** under the tuition of Mr. T. Young was formed and carried on for sometime with considerable success, the industrious pupils making good progress. At a later period classes were formed for the study of **French, Writing and Arithmetic** and teachers were furnished by Mr. A. Walsh of the Lower Canada College free of charge and were attended with some interest but from the lateness of the season when they were opened the attendance was not so large as it might have been."

Mention that the Board of Arts and Manufactures is "empowered to make better provision for the instruction and improvement of Mechanics together with the establishment of Model Rooms and the power to take part in the future management of Exhibitions."

General Committee Nov. 16 deferred appointment of teachers for Writing, Bookkeeping, Arithmetic, and Mathematics.

General Committee Nov. 23 £12.10s. allowed for classes for Drawing, Writing, Bookkeeping, Arithmetic, Mathematics; to begin Nov. 30.

General Committee Dec. 14 grant of £50 from Board of Arts to establish free classes in Drawing, Writing, Bookkeeping, Arithmetic, Mathematics and French. Classes to last for four months. Committee announced that two teachers had been engaged at \$12 per month.

1858

Annual Report (Nov. 8)" ... free classes for instruction in French, Architectural and Mechanical Drawing, Writing, Bookkeeping, Arithmetic and Mathematics were organized early last winter, and kept up for a period of over four months. The attendance was not what might have been expected, yet, on the whole, a very great degree of efficiency was attained by many of the scholars.

The Board of Arts and Manufactures kindly granted the sum of fifty pounds toward the support of these classes, on condition of their having the privilege of sending pupils, not members of the Institute. At the close of the session Professors Dawson and Howe, of McGill College, held an examination, and expressed their great satisfaction with the attainments of the pupils, and the efficient manner in which the classes were conducted.

Mechanical Drawing	Mr. George Hughes	19 pupils
Architectural Drawing	Mr. Wm. Kennedy	20 pupils
French	Rev. J.E. Tanner	30 pupils
Writing, Book-keeping,)	
Arithmetic, Mathematics) Mr. Alex Shewan	25 pupils"

Messrs. Hughes and Kennedy gave their services without charge.

1859

Annual Report (Nov. 7) Dec. 9, 1858 to Mar. 18, 1859 free classes in Reading, Writing, Arithmetic (Mr. P. Clancy); French (Rev. J.E. Tanner); Mechanical and Ornamental Drawing (Messrs. David McFarlane and William King); and Architectural Drawing (Alexander C. Hutchison).

Messrs. Macfarlane, King, and Hutchison gave their services gratuitously.

Chairman of Class Committee Hector Munro. Average attendance 95. There was a \$50. grant from the Board of Arts and Manufactures.

"At the end of three months the attendance declined, and during the last week became so irregular, as to induce the Committee to close the Classes at an earlier date than they had intended. " ... unwillingness of employers to grant their apprentices the time, when business began to revive about the beginning of March." The classes for the next year were to open earlier (Nov. 20, 1859).

General Committee Nov. 14 letter from John Stewart offering to take Writing and Arithmetic Classes

1860

General Committee Jan. 9 letter from B. Chamberlin, Secretary of Board of Arts and Manufactures re: classes and grant.

General Committee Mar. 26 proposed to pay Mr. A.C. Hutchison in addition to other teachers for services for three months.

Annual Report (Sept. 3) "The classes were opened on the 23rd of November, 1858, and continued till 1st April following - the session lasting 111 days. The branches taught were English, Reading, Grammar, Writing, Bookkeeping and Arithmetic under Mr. James Stewart and Mr. James Bute, Architectural Drawing under Mr. Alex C. Hutchison Mechanical Drawing under Mr. David Macfarlane, Ornamental Drawing under Mr. James Bute and Mr. James Elliott, and French under Mr. J.E. Tanner. A class for Mathematics was also organized but owing to the small number of pupils offering, it was discontinued.

The number of scholars averaged about 70, and the attendance in point of regularity, was much better than in former years. This is mainly attributed to the aid and encouragement which many employers have, during the past year, rendered to their apprentices, and the Committee are gratified that in this respect they have not to regret the complaint so justly made in last years' report.

At the close of the session the classes were examined by Professor Robins on behalf of the Board of Arts and Manufactures." Mentions

giving of prizes and that Mr. David Macfarlane "for several years past" had given his services free of charge.

General Committee Oct. 1 to advertize that Winter Classes will commence on the first of November and the various branches to be taught.

General Committee Oct. 8 Lecture and Class Committee "recommending that Classes open this year on the 1st November, and also recommending that the following Branches be taught, viz. Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, Book-Keeping and Grammar, Architectural, Mechanical and Ornamental Drawing, also French." The Committee also sought "power to engage suitable teachers at a salary not exceeding \$12. per month also further time to consider over their duties in relation to Lectures."

General Committee Nov. 12 some members asked for a room for debates; were asked to pay \$1. per month for one night a week to defray the cost of gas with the "subjects of Debates, etc. to be approved by the Class Committee."

It was reported that "the English Class had increased to such an extent as to require the assistance of another Teacher" and up to \$12. a month was granted.

1861

General Committee Feb. 25 it was reported "that the classes would close this week."

Annual Report (Sept. 2) "On the 20th of November evening classes were opened for instruction to the Members of the Institute in the following branches, viz. **Reading, Writing, Bookkeeping, Arithmetic, Grammar, French, Architectural, Mechanical and Ornamental Drawing** and continued open for four months. The average attendance at all classes was 117 each evening. A member of the Institute is at liberty to join any or all of the classes, thus the young journeyman, clerk and apprentice, whose engagements require daily labor, can receive a fair education during the winter evenings, by becoming connected with the Institute, a privilege well worthy the consideration of parents, guardians, employers, and others.

The teachers of the various branches were Messrs. Mathewson and Cleghorn for the English Classes. The French Class was under the

Superintendence of the Rev. Mr. Roux, late Principal at Pointe aux Trembles Institute, who gave general satisfaction. The Architectural Drawing by Messrs. McFarlane, Inglis and King, and the Ornamental Drawing by Mr. William Elliott."

The last four named gave their services gratuitously.

General Committee Sept. 23 "to open classes on the first Monday in November and that the usual branches be taught and the necessity of the desks, new table tops and some extra copies of Drawings, and they recommend a charge of 12 1/2 cents per month to pay for gas, and from previous experience they would recommend some other means of exit from the Classroom, in order to obviate the noise on the stairs and passage."

General Committee Oct. 14 letters Messrs. Rowe (=Roux?) and Tanner to teach the French Class, Roy to teach Architectural Drawing, Mathewson to teach the English branches.

1862

Annual Report (Sept. 1) "That it is a matter of regret that a large number of the Mechanics of this City should not avail themselves of the opportunities for improvement which this Institute affords."

General Committee Oct. 13 letter from Mr. W. Hicks recommending T. Godfrey as a teacher.

General Committee Nov. 24 Mr. King had promised to teach a Drawing Class if some assistance was provided.

The matter of renting a room and engaging Teachers was left in the Hands of the President and Vice-President to arrange.

General Committee Dec. 8 French Class had commenced operations and that the English one would do so tomorrow.

General Committee Dec. 22 Alex Hutchison had been engaged to conduct the drawing Classes at a Salary of \$7. per week.

***Board of Arts and Manufactures 1862**

***The general condition of the society appears satisfactory, but the withdrawal of all Government aid from the Mechanics' Institutes appears to have resulted in the failure of some of them, and in crippling,**

materially, the usefulness of others. Some few of them, however, in cities and towns are not only self-supporting but prosperous.

1863

Annual Report (Sept. 7) A proposal to raise the annual fee for Junior Members from 5s. to 7s.6d. was postponed.

General Committee Sept. 28 "owing to the many claims pressing on an almost exhausted treasury **the usual evening classes be discontinued** for this winter."

*Board of Arts and Manufactures 1863

*The Report of the Lower Canada Board expresses a regret that the grant of \$2000 annually is not sufficient to enable them to carry out, so energetically as could be desired, the important trusts with which they have been charged; but the withdrawal of grants to Mechanics' Institutes, and 'so called institutions,' is regarded with favor by the Board.

*In consequence of the liabilities which have accumulated, notwithstanding the special grant of \$20,000 from Government, on the Exhibition erected in Montreal, at the time of the visit of the Prince of Wales, the Board was compelled to mortgage the building to the contractor, who has since foreclosed and the property has been advertised for sale. The sale, however, has been postponed, pending the result of an appeal to Government for further aid, and the issue of some cross-actions brought at the instance of McGill College.

1864

Annual Report (Sept. 5) "With much regret the Committee, owing to the extensive repairs going on, found it impossible to do anything last winter in this important department, as no such hindrance will stand in the way ... (urge) the resumption of the usual Classes during the Coming Winter.

We would also venture to guess that a small charge for admission to each Class would tend to make them more appreciated and keep away a class of boys who attend more for amusement and by their disorderly conduct annoy the Teachers and hinder the earnest and industrious students.

We hope it will also be found practicable to have a course of lectures next season."

Motion that Junior Members pay \$1.

General Committee Sept. 26 "that there shall be classes this winter, to commence November first, that those classes consist of English, reading, writing, Arithmetic and Drawing.

English classes entrance fee (25 c) twenty five cents, said fee to be refunded where good conduct and attendance warrant it.

The Drawing Classes pay the same fee of 25 c each pupil, per month.

That there be a French Class, provided a sufficient number of pupils offer to pay one half of the amount of Teacher's fees.

That it is also in contemplation to offer prizes for proficiency in the several departments."

General Committee Oct. 24 I.E. Pellan and A.C. Hutchison to solicit prizes.

General Committee Dec. 26 applications to act as assistant teachers (25 c per night) I.M. McCloskey, Wm. Scott, I.S. Archibald, I.W. Mathewson.

***Board of Arts and Manufactures**

*The report of the Lower Canada Board merely sets forth anew the financial difficulties by which all its efforts are paralysed, and which it cannot overcome without the intervention of the Government.

1865

General Committee Mar. 27 Public examination of classes.

General Committee Apr. 24 Report of Public Examination of the Classes on the 11th inst. which passed off with considerable good feeling, the only regret being the apparent indifference of members in attendance at the same.

Annual Report (Sept. 4) "Not only were the classes well attended, but we were successful in obtaining for the whole season three first rate Teacher. and a good Assistant English Teacher for a portion of the time."

" ... the attendance of pupils was encouraging and that good progress was made in the several Studies, and that in addition to the small

remuneration to the Teachers our Institute is under obligation to them for the efficient manner in which they discharged their respective duties. The Classes commenced on the 1st of November and were closed on the 1st April, a period of 5 months.

... public examination the Rev. F. Fulford, Lord Bishop of Montreal and Metropolitan of Canada, the Revd. Dr. Taylor, the Honorable T.D McGee and P.J.O. Chauveau took part. The examination was conducted by the teachers. **Mr. Thomas Muir**, taking the **English Class** examining them in dictation, Spelling and Mental Arithmetic; Samples of their writing were also exhibited. **Mr. A.C. Hutchison**, taking the **Drawing Classes**, examining them in a few problems of Practical Geometry and the Methods of obtaining Roof lines. The Drawings made during the Season were also exhibited

The result of the examination was highly satisfactory both as to the progress of the Pupils and the diligence and Care of the Teachers ... Prizes.

English Class	67
Architectural Drawing	26
Mechanical Drawing	9

... recommend still more strenuous efforts on the part of the Institute to render the classes yet more attractive by a better arrangement of the Class room and the purchase of other resources for their more efficient working."

General Committee Oct. 9 clases to open on or about Nov. 1. English Class (Mon., Wed., Fri.) including reading, writing, arithmetic 25 c entry.

Two Drawing Classes - Architectural and Mechanical - provided a sufficient number come forward to warrant engaging a teacher 25 c monthly.

1866

General Committee Feb. 12 Thomas Muir resigned as Teacher of the English Class; Mr. A.C. Williamson resigned after 3 days.

General Committee Feb. 26 engaged Mr. Warren (Bonaventure Model School); Hutchison gave up Fri. evening class

Annual Report (Sept. 3) **English Class 119 (enrolled) 2 classes**, Senior division average attendance 18 Mon., Thurs.

Junion division average attendance 48 Tues., Wed., Fri.
(Teachers Mr. Muir, Mr. Warren, Mr. Williamson)

Architectural Drawing Mr. Hutchison 30 (enrolled) average attendance 17.

Your committee consider these classes a most important part of the usefulness of the Institute amongst the Mechanical Community and one which should be fostered with all the power, skill and energy of the members.

General Committee Sept. 24 The Class Committee reported being in treaty with Mr. O. Warren and Mr. A.C. Hutchison to teach the Classes, and suggested that an application be made to the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Lower Canada for suitable models for the Drawing Class.

General Committee Oct. 8 A.C. Hutchison wanted \$24. or \$20. per month rather than \$16. (distance, work, etc.)

General Committee Oct. 22 A.C. Hutchison at \$20. per month 3 nights per week.

10 students for Mechanical Drawing - authorized to engage a Teacher.

English Class opened tonight.

General Committee Oct. (=Nov.) 12 engaged Mr. Myers to teach Mechanical Drawing.

General Committee Dec. 24 Mr. Corse reported from Mr. Perrault that the Société des Artisans desired to come in amongst us without any remuneration beyond the use of their papers etc., etc.

They were asked to put their request in writing.

1867

General Committee Mar. 25 The Classes were closed in the middle of the present month.

Annual Meeting (Sept. 2) **English Class 107 students Mr. O. Warren average attendance 30. 23 Oct. - 15 Mar. 95 nights**

Drawing - Mechanical 13)

- Architectural 13) average attendance 5

23 Oct. - Paid teacher 2 months.

"Your committee regret the very discouraging attendance during the past year upon these classes especially at the drawing classes. When it is considered that these classes are a most important adjunct to the

Institute - a means presented to the young men of this City whereby they may attain to much knowledge in the Arts, it is much to be regretted that so few come forward and attend regularly through the whole course -"

General Committee Sept. 23 After some conversation on the subject of the Winter Class - to abandon the idea of having an English class for the ensuing season - to use all the means they may think advisable to get up and carry on the drawing classes.

General Committee Oct. 14 (Committee) have done all that they could ... to get the Drawing Class in operation, the number who have entered up to this date are 13 for Architectural - 2 for Mechanical and none for Ornamental Drawing - tomorrow being the last day for entering, it is feared that the minimum number of 20 for each branch will not be forthcoming.

General Committee Oct. 28 - 21 subscribed for the Architectural and Drawing Class, 15 of whom are now members of the Institute.

Only one has paid the class fee.

For Mechanical Drawing 18 have subscribed to enter the class 14 of whom are members of the Institute. The Committee is of the opinion that no one should be allowed to enter any of the classes unless he is a member of the Institute; and he must have paid the class fee.

General Committee Nov. 11 - to this date 22 have subscribed their names to join the Architectural Drawing 16 of whom are members of the Institute and 20 to join the Mechanical Drawing 13 of whom are members of the Institute.

General Committee Nov. 25 Mr. I. Perrault, President of the Institut des Artisans (in attendance) asked that his members be allowed to join the Drawing Classes.

Reply that the terms of the other pupils must be respected. Drawing class commenced with 30 pupils. Teacher appeared reported 32 on the list; 30 attended first session.

1868

General Committee Mar. 23 the Drawing classes have been discontinued for the season - as of last week - and that the progress made by the class was highly satisfactory and it is recommended to pay the teacher his fee.

Annual Report (Sept. 7) "the General Committee decided to dispense with the usual English branch believing the many opportunities afforded the youth of the City outside the Institute for the acquisition of the Rudiments of English, left them more at liberty to provide for their members Instruction more in keeping with the objects of the Institute, and accordingly to open classes for Architectural, Geometrical and Mechanical Drawing as soon as 20 members for each class had signified their intention and recorded their names; within a limited time the required number was made up for the first named class but the Mechanical class not having sufficient support from the members was not opened.

... opened in October and continued until the end of March ... 36 Young men availed themselves of the advantages afforded by this class and made such progress that the Committee appointed the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Lower Canada to examine ... expressed themselves highly satisfied with the proficiency attained by the members of the class in so short a time.

\$1.00 charged to ensure attendance."

General Committee Oct. 12 formation of Architectural and Mechanical Drawing Classes were recommended - provided a sufficient number - say (15) fifteen for the Mechanical and (20) for the Architectural class open to members of the Institute only.

General Committee Nov. 17 no application for teacher after advertizing ... to make further efforts to secure a Tacher at once for the Mechanical Drawing Class, failing that to establish a Class for English and French to be confined to apprentices and Boys in stores.

General Committee Nov. 23 engaged Mr. Warrick for Mechanical Drawing \$5. per week.

*Board of Arts and Manufactures

*Institut des artisans Canadian named 4 delegates who were received at the April 7th quarterly session.

*Association of Arts in April requested a grant to establish a School of Design.

*Dr. J. Baker Edwards in October requested a grant to procure apparatus and instruments to set up a laboratory to teach a class in Practical Chemistry.

*Board had plans to take part of the Palace of Industry to set up a Drawing class and to furnish rooms for a Chemistry class and to take over the classes presently held at the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal and the Institut des Artisans Canadiens.

*Recommended that the Schools of Design be under the immediate control of the Board and that the members of the Mechanics' Institute and the Association of Arts receive their training there on conditions to be decided by them.

*In the winter of 1867-68 the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal held a Class in Architectural and Geometrical Drawing.

*The Institut des Artisans Canadiens held an elementary Class.

*Each received a grant of \$100. from the board for the classes.

*In the winter of 1868-69 the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal organized a Class of Mechanical Drawing and the Institut des artisans Canadiens opened a large class for elementary education (attendance of 70 pupils).

*Board added 98 volumes to its Free Library of Reference which consisted of 1554 volumes.

*Institut des Artisans Canadiens de Montréal held a lecture series which was well attended.

*Difficulties of the Palace of Industry were settled.

*Board asked for the funds to establish a School of Design and to organize classes in Arts and Sciences.

1869

Annual Report (Sept. 6) "some difficulty in organizing the usual winter classes, not until the 20th November were they successful in opening **Mechanical Drawing Class under the tuition of Mr. Warlick.** The course of studies were Practical Geometry, details of engines and other machinery and solid Geometry, with lessons in Architectural Drawing to a few pupils that desired it ... 24 (enrolled) average attendance 16."

General Committee Oct. 11 "that the classes in connection with the Board of Arts and Manufactures be advertized in the Daily Witness for one week, making prominent the fact that they are free to members of the Institute."

1870

Annual Report (Sept. 5) "There have been no classes the past year under the immediate control of the Institute, as our members are admitted to the School of Art and Design established by the Board of Arts and Manufactures.

Your Committee are gratified to know that about 180 members of the Institute availed themselves of the advantages offered them by the opening of this school, and trust that a much large number will attend this coming season."

The Library and Reading Room of the Mechanics' Institute of Montreal

1840

Minute Book Mar. 17 Committee (J. Redpath, Jos. Fraser, B. Holmes, Dr. A. Hall, T.A. Begley, W. Carter, M.J. Hayes, T. White, Jn. Mathewson, Dr. A. Cowan, Jn. Lovell, W.S. Hunter) to solicit donations for Library and obtain Life Members.

Minute Book Apr. 10 Committee to purchase books until Jan. 1841

Rules for Library and Reading Room.

Minute Book Apr. 13 Committee to manage Library (Gibson, Hall, Roy)

Quarterly Meeting May 5 suggested that each member donate a volume to the Library.

Minute Book May 21 appointment of Librarian.

Minute Book May 25 E.F. Wetenhall offered to be Librarian £35 per annum and residence; accepted to May 1841.

Minute Book Jun. 1 £50 for books

Minute Book Jul. 7 Complete numbers of Library of Useful Knowledge

Semi-Annual Meeting Aug. 4 reported 395 volumes (including 30 reference works) 200 periodicals. Purchased 156, donated 56, from MMI 136, deposits 47; total 395. Ordered 50 volumes of Harper's Family Library from New York.

Minute Book Aug. 4 John White of MMI paid annual subscription and placed gift of books on deposit.

Minute Book Oct. 22 James Dickinson elected Secretary and Librarian.

Quarterly Meeting Nov. 3 Reported 700 volumes; Gibbon, Decline and Fall 4 vols.; Malthus, On Population 2 vols.; Shetland and the Shetlander 1 vol.; Lyell, Geology 4 vols.; Scotland and the Scotch 1 vol.; Smith, Select Lectures. Recorded that attendance at the Reading Room was on the wane.

Minute Book Nov. 24 Special Meeting to consider Vattermare proposal to establish an Institute for the Promotion of Literature, Science and the Arts. Appointed Committee (Holmes, Mathewson, Smith, Fraser, Redpath) to cooperate with other societies - 4 votes opposed to proposal.

Minute Book Dec. 28 Purchased Thomson, Organic Chemistry; Thomson, Heat and Electricity.

1841

Annual Meeting (Feb. 2) Library 700-800 volumes; preparing catalogue.

Minute Book Feb. 15 Librarian £56 per annum.

Minute Book Feb. 22 Meeting to vote on books.

Minute Book Mar. 15 Catalogue of books.

Quarterly Meeting May 4 reported 151 volumes in circulation during quarter.

Semi-Annual Meeting Aug. 3 Reported 624 volumes in the Library, 1584 circulated in six months and 214 readers.

Quarterly Meeting Nov. 2 Reported 639 volumes in Library, 575 circulated and 109 readers.

1842

Annual Meeting (Feb. 8) Library 670 volumes, 2482 circulation and 141 readers.

Semi-Annual Meeting Aug. 2 Reported 683 volumes in the Library, circulation of 1046 volumes in six months and 121 readers.

Letter Book Dec. 24 to W. Buchanan. Books of MMI purchased for MIM and considered their property.

1843

Annual Meeting (Feb. 7) Library 704 volumes, circulation 1706.

Minute Book Feb. 25 Two copies of Waverley Novels to be purchased.

Minute Book Mar. 29 to replace (British) newspapers with periodicals.

Letter Book Apr. 22 to discontinue British newspapers in favor of London Mechanics' Magazine and Civil Engineers and Architects Journal.

Minute Book May 8 In new rooms voted on location of Library and Reading Room; to be upstairs in the rear of the building.

Semi-Annual Meeting Aug. 1 Library 704 volumes, circulation 344 and 39 readers. Constitution amended to allow "That Ladies be admitted to all the privileges of the Library, Reading Room, Lectures and Museum at the rate of Five Shillings." (This appears to be the rate charged apprentices.)

Minute Book Nov. 6 James Maxwell engaged as Teacher and Librarian at £75 per annum. Dickinson to vacate rooms.

Letter Book Nov. 15 dismissing Librarian Dickinson in favor of person for Day School and Librarian.

1844

Annual Meeting (Feb. 6) Library 730 volumes, circulation 1000.

Minute Book Mar. 10 to seek Librarian.

Minute Book Mar. 26 Government grant £50; £25 to be used for purchase of books, £8 to purchase Air Pump.

Letter Book Mar. 26 to Maxwell offering £50 and half the revenue of the school for Day School, evening classes and supervision of Reading Room.

Minute Book Apr. 29 W. Pringle (Librarian) to help move May 1.

Minute Book May 30 Librarian £30 per annum.

Semi-Annual Meeting Aug. 6 Library 838 volumes, circulation 1017.

Minute Book Sept. 16 took Journal of Franklin Institute.

Minute Book Oct. 1 offer from Fleming, Civil Engineer, to lecture and act as Librarian for adequate remuneration declined.

Minute Book Oct. 10 complaint against Librarian.

Minute Book Oct. 31 engaged Mr. Trowing (?) as Librarian.

1845

Annual Meeting (Feb. 5)

Minute Book Jun. 26 ordered Albion Newspaper and continued Chambers Edinburgh Journal.

Minute Book Jul. 24 request for London Pictorial Times referred to Library Committee.

Minute Book Sept. 4 Fund raised by Committee fines to be used to procure Murray's Colonial and Home Library.

Annual Meeting (Nov. 3) Library 897 volumes, circulation 1830.

1846

Minute Book Apr. 8 to advertize to call in all books.

Annual Meeting (Nov. 2) Library 839 volumes.

1847

Minute Book Feb. 22 Mayor John E. Mills donated £150 (his salary) to MIM to purchase books, £50 to be used for French books.

Ordinary Meeting Mar. 8 letter from Mayor J.E. Mills presenting £150; he was made a Life Member.

Annual Meeting (Nov. 8) Library 77 volumes donated, circulation 2705 volumes, reference 1000 volumes

Minute Book Dec. 13 Reading Room Rules - 7 a.m. - 10 p.m. May 1-Nov. 1, 8 a.m. - 10 p.m. rest of year.

Minute Book Dec. 20 Library Rules - 5 p.m. - 9:30 p.m. for Reference and Circulation. Only one volume at a time.

1848

Minute Book Feb. 21 donation received from late J.E. Mills

Minute Book Apr. 3 difficulty paying bills and borrowed from Mills gift until Government grant received in July.

(In June 1848 A.L. Stevenson was Librarian.)

Annual Meeting (Nov. 6) Library had a new catalogue; with 401 volumes added of which 40 were donated the total (circulation) was 2984 volumes. The Reading Room was more frequented (because of) the addition of many monthly and quarterly periodicals.

1848

Minute Book Mar. 12 Book catalogue complete.

Minute Book Dec. 10 quarrel over purchase (Strickland?) The Lives of the Chancellors of England.

Annual Meeting (Nov. 5) Library had a circulation of 3865 volumes; there were 1312 volumes the previous year to which 35 were added by purchase and 2 by donation for a total of 1349 volumes.

1850

Catalogue of Books 44 pp.

Minute Book Jan. 21 Library Rules 5 p.m.-10 p.m. Reading Room Rules 7 a.m.-10 p.m. May 1 to Nov. 1

Minute Book Feb. 21 Members of Institut Canadien at liberty to make use of Reading Room because of fire in their rooms. Annual Meeting (Nov. 4) Library had added 130 volumes by purchase, 5 were donated and 12 periodicals were bound, while 26 were lost, for a total of 1470 volumes. There were 3860 issues circulated.

1851

Annual Meeting (Nov. 3) Library 4112 issues (circulation) to about 250 readers "a large portion of whom were apprentice members." There were 82 volumes added by purchase, 9 donated, and 25 bound periodicals for a total of 1506 volumes.

"The Library is still small compared with one such as an Institution like yours should possess, but it is being gradually and steadily enlarged and from the greater means ... may in the course of a year or two be expected to comprise considerably over 2000 volumes."

1852

1853

Annual Meeting (Nov. 7) Library 1650 volumes and 4000 issues.

1854

Minute Book Apr. 10 Mercantile Library Association sought joint use of rooms in Greater St. James Street; joint occupancy but later withdrew.

The Reading Rooms were joint but the Libraries remained separate. (The MIM later claimed an indemnity from the MLA for its withdrawal.)
Minute Book Jun. 12 "That, whereas it is deemed expedient to establish, in connection with this Institute, a Free Library of Reference, - a Model Room, for the exhibition of Mechanical inventions, - a Museum, etc. - to which the public in general shall have access; and also to establish a system of Free Classes, for the instruction of the members of the Institute in the various branches of Science and Art. Therefore, Resolved - that this Institute present a petition to the Legislature, at its next session, for a grant to assist in establishing and maintaining the aforesaid Library of Reference, etc., and that the importance of these objects be duly brought before the notice of the Legislature."

Forwarded under the care of the Hon. Wm. Badgley.

Annual Meeting (Nov. 6) Library added 138 volumes of which 84 were by purchase and 34 by donation; there were 4643 issues.

Petition to Provincial Parliament that it "wanted to possess a Library of Literature and Science; to be a Library of Reference free to all; and a Model Room."

1855

Catalogue of Books 66 pp.

General Committee Feb. 26 £25 to Library Committee for books.

General Committee Apr. 30 Murray offered room in Montreal Insurance Co. Building to store books until Library ready

Annual Meeting (Nov. 5) Library had 1891 volumes the previous year and had added 189 by purchase, 12 by donation and 20 periodicals had been bound, while 45 volumes were lost, for a total of 2057 volumes. There were 4968 issues. New catalogue. There had been "efforts to obtain the assistance of Parliament to establish and sustain a free library and model room."

1856

General Committee Jan. motion that Secretary be a paid Officer with the charge of the Library, Reading Room, etc. was shelved.

General Committee Mar. 17 £10 to Library.

Letter Book Apr. 8 offer to W.E. Logan opening Library and premises to accommodate convention of A.A.A.S. in August.

Annual Meeting (Nov. 3) Library added 62 volumes by donation, 116 by purchase for a total of 2235 volumes. There were 5869 issues. The Library Committee recommended "the propriety of selecting in future purchases for the Library such books as tend to elevate, the tone of reading among the younger members." The Reading Room was frequented by a large number of youth.

1857

General Committee Jan. 19 £25 to Library.

Annual Meeting (Nov. 2) Library added 173 volumes by purchase and 34 by donation for a total of 2442 volumes. There were 5562 issues. The Reading Room was used by the younger members.

1858

Annual Meeting (Nov. 8) Library added 176 volumes for a total of 2618 volumes. There were 6191 issues.

1859

Catalogue of Books

Annual Meeting (Nov. 7) Library had issued 6840 volumes and possessed a total of 3087 volumes. It had relinquished 1100 volumes received from the British Patent Office to the Board of Arts and Manufactures for Lower Canada because the latter had also applied for them. (No doubt this was made easier by the knowledge that they would be kept in the Institute and available to its members; in addition, the binding was to cost £200 and the Institute was financially pressed while the Board had the funds available.)

"The Library and Reading Room form the chief attractions of the Institute, and the manner in which these departments are supplied and managed will always have great influence on the Membership list."

1860

Annual Report (Sept. 3) Library had a total of 3536 volumes and had 7338 issues.

1861

Annual Meeting (Sept. 2) Library had 3547 volumes and 7769 issues.

1862

1863

1864

Annual Report (Sept. 5) Library had increased by 72 purchases, 32 donations and binding of 35 periodicals to reach a total of 3465 volumes. There were 7084 issues although the Library had been closed for a period (due to building repairs).

The Library Committee continued to recommend that the Board of Arts and Manufactures reference volumes be brought together in the same room with the Institute Library.

1865

Annual Report (Sept. 4) The Library Committee wanted to extend the Library into the Class Room and bring the Board of Arts and Manufactures collection together into the same room.

The Library had attained 3621 volumes by means of 64 purchased, 25 periodicals bound and 67 donations. There were 5675 issues.

1866

General Committee Jan. 8 Committee appointed to approach the Board of Arts and Manufactures to have Libraries in the same room.

General Committee Jun. 11 Committee to confer with those persons who advertise as applying for an Act of Parliament to start a free library in this City.

Annual Report (Sept. 3) Library 4103 issues.

1867

Annual Report (Sept. 2) There were 4139 issues from the Library.

1868

General Committee Apr. 13 agreed to sell Museum Cases to Natural History Society on condition that members of the Institute be admitted to the Natural History Society rooms on showing their card of membership.

Annual Report (Sept. 7) There were 3842 issues from the Library.

1868

Catalogue of Books 142 pp.

Annual Report (Sept. 6) There were four lectures in aid of the Library.

1870

Supplement to Catalogue of Books 8 pp.